

JPRS-UIA-87-024

19 MAY 1987

USSR Report

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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AFRICA (SUB-SAHARA).....	tan
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USSR REPORT
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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WORLDWIDE TOPICS

42ND SESSION OF UN ECE IN GENEVA

Komplektov Heads USSR Delegation

PM031131 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Apr 87 First Edition p 4

[TASS dispatch: "Session Opens"]

[Text] Geneva, 31 Mar--The 42nd session of the UN ECE opened here today. Its membership comprises 32 European states (including the USSR, the Belorussian SSR, and the Ukrainian SSR) and the United States and Canada.

The commission plays an important role in promoting the development of all-European, and in particular East-West economic, scientific, and technical cooperation.

The session is to discuss the state and prospects of the economic development of the region's states, multilateral trade, economic, scientific, and technical cooperation, and the commission's contribution to the implementation of the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act and the final document of the Madrid meeting.

The session is attended by a USSR delegation headed by V.G. Komplektov, USSR deputy foreign minister.

Komplektov Speech

PM061037 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Apr 87 Morning Edition p 4

[Unnamed own correspondent dispatch: "To Everyone's Advantage"]

[Text] Geneva--Plenary sessions of the 42nd session of the UN Economic Commission for Europe [ECE] are discussing questions of the commission's work as a whole and participation by ECE region states in implementing the process of security and cooperation in Europe.

The speeches by the representatives of Austria, Poland, the GDR, Norway, Hungary, and other countries stressed the need for specific measures to expand mutually advantageous East-West cooperation.

In the nuclear age the responsibility of states for the fate not only of their own peoples but for the survival of all mankind has grown immeasurably, V.G. Komplektov, leader of the USSR delegation and USSR deputy foreign minister, stated in his speech. This fully applies to the ECE countries, whose activities, through their very essence, imply the material implementation ideas of peace and cooperation.

The Soviet Union's course of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development and expanding its participation in the international division of labor makes serious demands on foreign economic relations, the USSR deputy foreign minister stressed. We devote particular attention to the active utilization of new forms of cooperation, including industrial and scientific production sharing and the creation of joint enterprises.

The Soviet delegation, V.G. Komplektov said in conclusion, has come to the 42nd session with a sincere desire to fruitfully cooperate and to maintain and augment everything positive that the ECE has accumulated in the 40 years of its existence. We proceed on the basis that this jubilee session should not only sum up results but should outline specific practical tasks for the ECE's further activity and define ways of solving them to the mutual advantage of all the commission countries.

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CSO: 1825/166

SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

GEORGIAN EXPERIENCE IN DIRECT FOREIGN ECONOMIC TIES

Tbilisi KOMMUNIST GRUZII in Russian No 12, Dec 86 pp 74-78

[Article by I. Tsiskarishvili: "A New Form of Cooperation"]

[Text] The necessity of rational use of the scientific-technical and production potential and the material, financial, and labor resources of the countries of the socialist community determines the importance of constantly improving the forms and methods of foreign economic cooperation. In large part the efficiency with which the opportunities of socialist integration are used to solve key national economic problems depends on the smooth operation and flexibility of the mechanism of interaction [vzaimodeystviye] among the cooperating parties. A progressive form of interaction among partners has been developed in recent years. This is direct production and scientific-technical links between the organizations and enterprises that are taking part in mutually advantageous cooperation.

The involvement of immediate producers in economic cooperation among the CEMA countries was a result of the objective process of change in the nature of foreign economic ties, which finds expression in a decline in the proportion of raw material products in the mutual trade of the socialist countries and, correspondingly, an increase in the role of international specialization and cooperation in production.

The document "Basic Directions of Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and the Period Until the Year 2000" contains instructions on the need for active use of direct links with enterprises of the fraternal countries in building and introducing progressive machinery, technology, and materials.

As one of the concrete forms of the internationalization of production forces in the current phase of deepening of the international socialist division of labor, direct links are expected to ensure solutions to particular problems of internal economic development by combining elements of the mutual economic interest of the direct participants in cooperation.

It is precisely the fact that partners have interests in common, which precludes imposition of cooperation obligations (including those arising from contracts between higher-ranking economic levels), that can guarantee

effective joint efforts because there is no question that "where there is no commonality of interests, there cannot be unity of goals, to say nothing of unity of actions" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 8, p 14).

The term direct links is considered to apply to scientific-technical and production links as well as mutual relations in the trade and services sphere which are carried on without an intermediate role being played by specialized organizations from the sphere of international exchange and higher-ranking economic organs.

In order to refine the organizational-legal mechanism of carrying on direct links a clear distinction should be drawn between approaches to the formation of traditional bilateral economic links of partners arising from agreements and contracts at the state and sector level and the new form of direct links between organizations and enterprises.

In our opinion, the chief distinguishing feature of these forms is that bilateral foreign links at the state, regional, and sectorial levels are balanced to get an overall economic impact from cooperation. This does not preclude the possibility that these links will be relatively unprofitable for some particular enterprise taken alone which, proceeding from general interests, supports profit from the cooperation at a different enterprise of the sector or region.

Thus, for example, the bilateral long-term program for specialization and cooperation in production between the USSR and Hungary, figured for the period until 1990 and aimed at deepening the rational division of labor in leading sectors of production, science, and technology, includes about 300 problems and topics within whose framework work is to be done on 430 assignments. Among them are the development and launching into production of 130 new models of machinery and equipment, more than 70 highly efficient industrial processes, 26 automated control systems, 15 types of new materials, and so on.

Cooperation on such a large scale, including many dozens of large and small organizations and enterprises, naturally makes the process of management of joint development work less flexible and elastic and makes it more difficult to extract the maximum economic benefit at each individual site involved in the integration process.

Direct links, however, being less cumbersome in scale, can arise only where the direct participants in cooperation have a mutual interest in the concrete results of joint work.

The initial phase in the development of direct links in the CEMA system presupposes the existence of an intermediate element, a sectorial or territorial management organ that promotes the formation and efficient functioning of the mechanism of direct scientific-production contacts. The role of this element is more significant where the collectively formulated goals of cooperation demanding comprehensive interaction among a number of organizations and enterprises are broader in scale. But artificially exaggerating the role and significance of organs of middle- and higher-level sectorial and territorial management in the implementation of direct links by

monopolization of the decision-making authority in all stages of interaction among the participants can only distort the essential features of direct links and ultimately cause economic loss to the partners.

The effort to resolve internal economic problems by mechanically increasing the number of direct-link contracts with partners from the fraternal countries cannot produce positive results either. Forced development of direct links without due regard for the interests of the collectives of the enterprises and associations and without appropriate stimulation can only discredit them.

Legal regulation of the interaction of the parties in carrying on direct links also demands constant refinement. There must be a coordinated approach to working out adequate rights and obligations for cooperating organizations in all CEMA countries. During the process of restructuring the foreign economic links of the socialist states artificial difficulties will arise if it continues to be true that "the contracting parties within the framework of direct links need not always be those organizations which will carry on the direct links, but only those to whom national law gives the right to conclude agreements (to reach agreement with foreign agents)" (N.V. Mironov, "Vneshniye svyazi ministerstv, obyedineniy i predpriyatiy [Foreign Links of Ministries, Associations, and Enterprises], Moscow, 1986, p 214.).

In 1922 V. I. Lenin wrote of the possibility of replacing the "absolute" monopoly on foreign trade with a "liberal monopoly, but in any case it must be a monopoly" ("PSS" [Complete Works], Vol 54, p 213).

The Leninist principles of monopoly over foreign trade were elaborated in key state documents and decisions of the CPSU. The existence in the current phase of diverse forms of foreign economic links among states (in the spheres of production, science and technology, currency-financial relations, transportation, communications, and so on) led to the USSR Constitution's reinforcing the state monopoly on all types of foreign economic activity.

At the present time a number of Union intersectorial and sectorial management organs have been given the power to organize and develop foreign links in the corresponding spheres of economic activity.

The development of direct cooperative links in production, science, and technology presupposes further dissemination of the functions of operational control of foreign economic relations both to lower-ranking economic elements and to territorial (above all republic) organizations of state management; naturally, this cannot be viewed as an attempt to retreat from the state monopoly on carrying out foreign economic activity. This step can only promote greater efficiency in managing the process of integrating local economic potentials that are interacting on the basis of purposeful, agreed-upon decisions of the CEMA countries.

At the present time an intensive search is underway both in our country and in the countries of the socialist community to find ways to improve the mechanism of forming and carrying on direct links in light of the decisions of the CEMA Economic Summit Conference (1984), which were directed to realization of the assignments of the Comprehensive Program of Scientific-Technical Progress

Until the Year 2000 adopted at the 41st (extraordinary) meeting of CEMA in 1985.

The August 1986 decree of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers marked the beginning of fundamental restructuring in carrying on foreign economic activity and of a basic refinement of the mechanism of economic cooperation in the socialist countries. It was recognized as necessary, on the one hand, to greatly increase the independence and accountability of the organizations participating directly in the cooperation process and, on the other hand, to substantially raise the level and efficiency of coordination of foreign economic links.

The initiative of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian Peoples Republic, which proposed in 1982 to establish direct economic and scientific-technical links with the Ukrainian, Georgian, Azerbaijan, and Moldavian SSR's.

By decision of the Intergovernmental Commission on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation between the USSR and Hungary this right was given to the Councils of Ministers of these four republics. At the same time it became necessary to work out the foreign economic functions of republic management organs and to define their role in the existing mechanism of socialist integration of the CEMA countries for the purpose of simplifying and accelerating the achievement of the agreed-upon goal of cooperation.

In 1986 the Intergovernmental Commission on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation between the USSR and Czechoslovakia gave the right to carry on direct links to organizations and enterprises in the Georgian SSR and the national republics of the CzSSR. Thus Georgia is at present the only Union republic that has the right to direct scientific-technical and production links with two CEMA countries, Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

The first steps have already been taken in the republic to implement direct links with colleagues from Hungary and Czechoslovakia; specific topics for cooperation have been defined but, as experience shows, management-organizational difficulties arise here as a result of inadequate theoretical work on the problems of management of the foreign economic sphere in the Union republics.

One of the chief indicators of the efficiency of the management process is the real level of influence on the managed system. Experience with the early stages of direct links between republic organizations and enterprises and their partners in Hungary and Czechoslovakia confirms that the level of influence of republic management organs on the system of international economic links in the process of carrying on foreign economic functions takes shape in dependence on a number of factors.

The need to establish foreign economic links may arise at different stages of the unitary reproduction cycle (from the emergence of a scientific idea to consumption of the finished product). The first stage of this cycle, the scientific-technical stage, combines such phases of work as pure and applied research, planning-design, and production engineering, construction of pilot models, and production of an experimental batch of articles. The second

stage, production and operations, includes the phases of establishing the size of the run (production), sales (including export-import transactions in collaboration relationships), and service.

In the process of implementing socialist economic integration objective differences appear in the nature of the economic fundamentals of the scientific-technical and production-operations phases. Thus, for example, joint pure and applied research can be conducted with different actual expenditures of material, information, and intellectual resources, which makes it possible to simplify the interrelations of the cooperating parties by limiting commodity-money relations in the particular phases of integration.

Overall, the system of international scientific-technical cooperation, compared to the system of international production-operations cooperation, is less subject to planning-coordination and resource centralization, which rigidly controls the complex and multifaceted economic links in the interstate reproduction process. These differences determine the possibility of working out a differentiated approach to the mechanism of managing international cooperation with the objective of simplifying the procedure for making management decisions. It would appear here that there should be an expansion of the functions of the Union republic Councils of Ministers and, correspondingly, the republic intersectorial management organs (Gosplan, the State Committee for Science and Technology, and Gosstroy) in the scientific-technical stage of the integration process within the CEMA framework.

To work out the foreign economic functions of republic management organs it is essential to define the group of subject organizations being managed in the process of international scientific-technical cooperation with due regard for the existence of organizations and enterprises in the Union republics with three types of subordination: USSR, USSR-republic, and republic.

The experience of the Georgian SSR convinces one that if republic organs exercise management of international scientific-technical cooperation for an organization of exclusively republic subordination, then the advantages of territorial principles of management in this sphere are reduced virtually to nothing because only about three percent of the scientific organizations in the republic fall in this category. The share of these organizations in the intellectual, information, and material resources in the republic's total scientific-technical potential is even lower.

It seems advisable, in order to more fully involve the scientific-technical potential of the Union republics in international scientific-technical cooperation and make management of the cooperation process more efficient and flexible, where international scientific-technical cooperation is being carried on by USSR-subordinate organizations, to give management powers chiefly to USSR sectorial ministries and departments, but where USSR-republic and republic organizations are participating the powers should be assigned to the Union republic Councils of Ministers.

In this case the GSSR Council of Ministers could manage the direct scientific-technical links of 67 percent of the scientific organizations of the republic with CEMA countries more efficiently.

When joint work is done on priority topics of the Comprehensive Program of Scientific-Technical Progress of the CEMA Countries Until the Year 2000, regardless of the departmental affiliation of the participants in cooperation, it takes place under the organizational direction of the pilot organizations who are coordinating authorities determined by decision of the appropriate CEMA organs.

When carrying on international scientific-technical cooperation in conformity with target comprehensive programs to meet key challenges facing the economies of Union republics, it seems advisable, regardless of the departmental subordination of the co-performers of the assignments, to have the question of their involvement in cooperation with the CEMA countries decided by the Union republic Council of Ministers.

So the foreign economic functions of republic management organs in the integration process of the CEMA countries can be expanded through opportunities existing in the stage of economic cooperation and refining the departmental subordination of organizations of the republic participating in international scientific-technical cooperation and the topic list of scientific-technical cooperation. This will increase the possibility of fuller use of the scientific-technical potential of the Union republics in the international socialist reproduction process.

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CSO: 1825/138

SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

CEMA LIGHT INDUSTRY COMMISSION--A session of the CEMA Permanent Commission for Cooperation in the Light Industry Sphere has ended in Prague. Its participants discussed progress in the fulfillment of tasks set by the Comprehensive Program for the CEMA countries' scientific and technical progress through the year 2000 and measures for the implementation of tasks in the sphere of specialization and sharing in the production of equipment for light industry. Consultations took place on questions of improving ties between industrial and trade organizations and on the manufacture of new, high-quality products. Tasks were set as regards the elaboration of agreements on specialization in production and the technical renovation and modernization of enterprises. Longer-term plans were set for the expansion of the output range, and there was a discussion of proposals to establish direct production and science-technology ties between CEMA countries' enterprises and organizations. [Text] [Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 15, Apr 87 [signed to press 2 Apr 87] p 21 PM] /9738

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 CSO: 1807/220

THIRD WORLD ISSUES

REVIEW OF JOURNAL AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA NO 2, 1987

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 25 Feb 87 pp 1-4

[Text] "Asian-Pacific Region. Experience of the Past as an Instrument in Tackling Today's Problems." This is the title of an article by Y. Belov.

The Soviet Union, the author writes, is an Asian and Pacific power. The USSR is vitally interested in preventing the Asian-Pacific region from becoming an arena of confrontation and a source of conflicts and wars. Speaking in Vladivostok on July 28, 1986, Mikhail Gorbachev outlined five principal directions of involvement of that vast region in the general process of setting up a comprehensive system of international security. The Soviet leader specifically suggested resolving the problems of regional settlement, preventing the proliferation and build-up of nuclear weapons in Asia and in the Pacific, restricting naval activities in the Pacific, radically reducing conventional arms and troops in Asia, and starting practical discussions on confidence-building measures and safeguards against the use of force in the region. The Soviet Union also speaks up for the convocation of a Helsinki-type Asian-Pacific conference for discussing security matters.

There is valuable experience in Asia as regards the development of fundamental principles of just relations among nations and the settlement of local and regional conflicts. All that positive experience of the past can and must be used today in seeking out ways of strengthening peace, security and cooperation in Asia and the Pacific region. In particular, Y. Belov thinks that Pancha Shila and Bandung principles can and must serve as a foundation in any future system of Asian security. This is something which the Soviet Union is persistently calling for.

"Arms business in Israel" is the subject of an article by S. Glukhov. The development of capitalism in Israel, the author writes, indicated that arms production has reached such a level where its own interests begin to govern the country's foreign and home policy. It is absolutely obvious that behind the increasing aggressiveness of Israel stands the same military-industrial complex which is taking an ever more active part in the arms race fuelled by the imperialist powers which push mankind to the brink of a global thermonuclear catastrophe.

In the 80s arms trade has become one of the principal sources of foreign exchange earnings for Israel, the author continues. Arms export secures it more than a cool billion dollars a year. These earnings compensate a sizable share of the colossal funds allocated by the Zionist leaders to finance Israel's aggressive policy. Until recently, the principal clients of the Israeli arms industry were reactionary regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Over the past ten years the principal buyer of Israeli weapons has been the racist South African regime. But now the Israelis are selling their Kfir fighters to the US, too, and various Israeli-made weapons are bought by NATO countries.

In this manner, the author concludes, Washington's invitation to Tel Aviv to take part in SDI has coincided with the implementation of large-scale plans of the leading Israeli corporations oriented to the foreign market. Israel has a strong scientific and technological potential in several advanced fields of physics and electronics. This allows one to assume, S. Glukhov writes, that its share in research and development will be no less than that of Britain and West Germany.

In the article "Fuelling the Fire" V. Turadzhev writes that the mysterious voyage of former US President's Assistant for National Security Affairs R. McFarlane to Teheran caused a major international scandal around the supplies of American weapons and spare parts for them to Iran. The scandal mounted, ever new facts exposing the Pharisaism and hypocrisy of the Washington Administration came into the open. It is common knowledge now that the Americans would like to return to Iran to boss it there as they did under the Shah, to restore and build up the war potential of Iran, and to turn it into a base for Washington's "Crusade" against the forces of national liberation and social emancipation in the Middle East area.

The United States is selfishly and cynically using the Irano-Iraqi armed conflict to satisfy its own imperial ambitions. It is fuelling the fire of conflict by its military supplies to Iran. By doing so it pursues several aims, the author writes. First, the USA wants to win influential circles of the Iranian military over to its side and thereby to create conditions for Teheran's reorientation which Washington wants so much. Second, it wants to further deepen the split in the Arab world caused by the Irano-Iraqi war. This would strengthen the positions of its "strategic ally", Israel, and would give the USA a chance of forcing upon the Arabs such "settlement" of the Middle East conflict which would meet the interests of imperialism and Zionism. Third, the Washington Administration needs continuation of the war to keep the conservative regimes of the Arabian Peninsula in constant fear of the Shi'ite revolution and to make them seek for defence and patronage.

In the article "Ideological Basis -- Scientific Socialism" N. Zotov writes about the emergence of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and its evolution from a broad-based anti-colonial front into a vanguard party of working people (MPLA - Party of Labor), and the spreading of scientific socialism in Angola.

In its section "Political Portraits" the journal carries an article "Samora Machel" devoted to the memory of the prominent leader of the national-

liberation movement, statesman and politician of Africa, Chairman of the Frelimo Party and President of the People's Republic of Mozambique who died in an air crash on October 19, 1986.

The issue also carries articles "The Developing Countries of Asia and Neocolonialism" by R. Avakov and "USSR - India. A Call from New Delhi" by Y. Lugovskoy, and other material.

CSO: 1812/128-E

THIRD WORLD ISSUES

ADVERSE EFFECTS OF NEOCOLONIALISM, MILITARISM ON ASIA, AFRICA

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 2, Feb 87 pp 4-7

[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences R. Avakov: "The Developing Countries of Asia and Neocolonialism"]

[Text] The socio-economic and political processes transpiring in the developing countries testify to a new approach--a decisive period in their historical evolution. The fundamental idea of deep and significant changes in modern world development, advanced in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Congress, wholly relates to these countries. (Footnote 1) (See: Materials of the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Moscow, 1986, p 4.) This situation has fundamental methodological significance: the question is being posed of the necessity of researching the problems of the developing countries in the context of the new situation without analogue in the past that has taken shape in international political and economic relations, where the chief concern of mankind has become a search for chances for survival.

Speaking in Vladivostok on 28 Jul 86, CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev felt that it is natural and essential "to look at questions of world policy from an Asian-Pacific point of view." He emphasized therein that "this striking diversity, this colossal human and socio-political body, requires persistent attention, study and respect. From our own Soviet experience, we know well what an enormous creative force the resurrected feeling of national dignity is, what creative role is played by the originality of a people in its organic contact with other fully endowed and free peoples. This process is today on the rise in Asia and the Pacific: here everything is in motion, far from everything has become fixed. The new is mixed with the old, the foundations of life, just yesterday seeming unshakable, are today receding before the whirlwind of change--social, scientific, technical and ideological. This is, if you will, another period of renaissance in world history, which harbors enormous potential for progress. And not for Asia and Oceania alone."

The period the developing countries is passing through is, in our opinion, a crucial one for two reasons.

First of all, these countries are a part of the modern world, and the Damocles' sword of nuclear danger threatens their existence to an equal extent. The problem of the survival of mankind that has arisen in the nuclear age is of a global nature. It is resolved on an international level, not a national one, since it simultaneously affects the historical fate of all the peoples and states of the world without exception.

Second, the modern era has decisive significance for the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America from the point of view of the prospects for their internal national development as well. The issue is whether or not they will be able, in the foreseeable future, to surmount the barrier of economic and scientific and technical backwardness and lack of development and enter onto a path promising more extensive prospects for a developed society, or whether this barrier will become insurmountable, that is, backwardness and lack of development will be permanent.

The question of the prospective advance of the developing countries beyond the boundaries of backwardness and lack of development has been posed in a new fashion under conditions of scientific and technical revolution. Have they been able "to make full use of the achievements of science and technology and in that manner acquire strength in the struggle against neocolonialism and imperialism, or will they nevertheless remain on the periphery of world development?" (Footnote 2) (Ibid., p 10) is how the Political Report has formulated the dilemma before them.

The Community of Problems

The rise of the group of developing countries--this specific international political and social community--was undoubtedly an important conquest of all of humanity and a major step forward on the path of progress. Over several decades of independent development, the appearance of this multifaceted world has changed considerably, an acceleration of its economic growth rate has occurred, gross national product has increased by many times and its proportionate share of world economy and trade has increased. The creation of the public sector in the national economy of the developing countries as a result of nationalization and expansion of the economic activity of the state, the execution of agrarian reforms in many of these countries and the elimination of backward structures, as well as the implementation of quite important social transformations, have had fundamental significance. We would also emphasize that the transition to an industrial path of development is being carried out relatively rapidly, and scientific and technical progress has become more noticeable, in a number of countries (especially in Asia).

At the same time, comparative analysis shows that, first of all, serious negative tendencies have appeared in the development of the whole group of liberated countries, including the Asian ones, in the 1980s that threaten both the successes they have achieved and prevailing conceptions of their prospects, especially economic ones. The issue is such phenomena as a sharp reduction in the rates of economic growth, a worsening of many socio-economic indicators, especially on a per-capita basis, a rapid increase in the amount

of foreign indebtedness, which has turned into a crisis, unfavorable trade conditions and the like.

Second, the developed capitalist states also did not stand still, although they have demonstrated a slower economic growth rate. This growth transpired on the basis of rapid scientific and technical progress, especially in the leading areas that today determine the economic look of a developed country.

As a result of new and unfavorable tendencies, the former calculations, estimates and forecasts made by specialists in the 1970s in world economic matters needed substantial correction on the downside. Whereas their earlier assumed share of the world gross national product (aside from the socialist countries) was estimated to be roughly a third for the year 2000, according to new estimates today it will comprise no more than a fourth. The share of these countries in the industrial production of the non-socialist world is also forecast to be 10-12 percent less.

Overall, the tendencies noted above, especially acutely manifested in Africa, are typical of the developing countries of Asia as well. It should be kept in mind, however, that they are transpiring there under unique conditions, being interpreted differently depending on the country or group of countries. Perhaps in not a single one of the regions of the developing world has the process of differentiation gone so far as on the Asian continent. This is true not only from a socio-political point of view, but from economic and scientific and technical ones as well. A number of socialist states have arisen in the course of national-liberation revolutions there, while countries with reactionary regimes, including military despots, exist alongside. There are countries on the continent that are known for their dynamic economic growth at the same time as there are countries that are moving forward at extremely slow rates.

However paradoxical, a strengthening of the process of differentiation has not altered the basic character of the developing countries of Asia, as of Africa and Latin America, or their position in the world capitalist economy as a particular group of countries that differs qualitatively from the developed states in many fundamental indicators.

Two stages in the post-colonial development of the liberated countries, including those located on the Asian continent, can be delineated. The first stage, which concluded at the end of the 1970s, occurred under the sign of the "independence effect," which determined the new conditions and new nature of development and revealed prospects for transition from economic stagnation to a normal process of reproduction. It is namely this effect that explains the relatively rapid economic growth rates observed in this period, the improvement of the structure of the economy, positive foreign-trade, accumulation and investment indicators and achievements in the realm of education and the training of national personnel. The "independence effect" also affected the position of the developing countries in the world economy.

The symptoms of a new stage of development have come to be more distinctly manifested since the beginning of the 1980s. A specific feature of it is the fact that the "independence effect" has already ceased to serve as a stimulant

for accelerating the process of economic development, and it has become, if it can be expressed in such a manner, a commonplace phenomenon, sort of "banal," having lost its novelty. I would add that the first half of the 1980s signify a boundary, when not only did negative trends take the upper hand in the developing countries, but even led, for the first time in the postwar period, to a fall in the absolute scale of production, as well as--to an even greater extent--production recalculated on a per-capita basis. Whereas their proportion of world trade had earlier increased continuously, a situation of decline in absolute terms has arisen in this sphere as well.

These are hardly temporary trends associated just with unfavorable market conditions in the world capitalist economy. This connection exists, of course, but it seems that the issue is more long-term trends, the fact that the former high growth rates are sooner past. The developing countries, especially in Asia, have run up against the fact that specifically favorable factors do not generate particular advantages for them, as was the case in the first stage of their development.

Pessimistic conclusions regarding modern-day misfortunes and difficulties in the Asian and other developing countries and their prospects for the future are expressed both by political and state figures and by specialists. The debates and concluding declaration of one of the forums of representatives of the developing countries in Kuala Lumpur in May of 1986 were permeated with such inclinations. The declaration mentions "crisis, the disastrous economic situation and uncertainty." The Malaysian prime minister emphasized the "deplorable state" of the developing countries, while the former general secretary of the Community of Nations, S. Raphael, expressed the opinion that the third world had entered a period of "severe challenge."

The scholars, experts and business circles of the developing world speak as one of the foreign factors of the critical state of their countries: the crisis in the world economic community, the unequal nature of trade, foreign indebtedness, the protectionist policies of the developed states of the West, their blindness in the face of the contradictions and difficulties of third-world development and the like. The West is also justly blamed for the fact that it, as the French newspaper LE MONDE writes, "has not only rejected a new world economic order, but has even achieved a reinforcement of its ranks in order to escape the crisis and has gone for the creation of its own world economic order."

One cannot help but agree with these evaluations. Foreign factors really do lie at the foundation of the disastrous situation in the developing countries, which factors are expressed in their unequal and subordinate position in the world capitalist economy and in the fact that the motive forces and stimuli for their development are largely determined by the interests of mature capitalism and the imperialist states. At the same time, one cannot ignore another no less important group of factors that prevails within developing society and is determined by this society itself--its socio-political orientation, mechanism of economic operation, experience and culture. A successful struggle against imperialist domination and neocolonialist exploitation, being a condition for the resurrection of the national economies

of the developing countries, can be accomplished by them only based on solid support in their own house.

Knots of Contradictions

As noted at the 27th CPSU Congress, there are "many tangled knots of contradictions" in the Asian and Pacific region, and "the political situation in certain places is unstable." (Footnote 3) (*Ibid.*, p 70.) Asia, in its new, complex and fluid set of contradictions, delineates an exceptionally great diversity of forms, types and spheres of conflict situations and direct clashes. The nature of these contradictions is ambiguous, and under modern conditions they are developing at several levels.

In the first place, the issue is that imperialism and the developing countries are two differing social phenomena that oppose each other overall in interests, goals and even their very natures. The position of imperialism in relation to the international community of the developing world, regardless of the socio-political orientation of its components, bears the powerful imprint of a colonial way of thinking. This is not a contemplative and passive nostalgia for colonial times, but an active neocolonialist policy aimed at preserving and deepening the dependence and inequality of the former colonies and semi-colonies, the perpetuation of the barrier of backwardness and underdevelopment and the preservation of a system of exploitation and super-exploitation of the peoples of the developing countries bringing fabulous profits to imperialism.

A tendency toward global contradictions is being observed in the modern world. It is in that key area that the contradictions between imperialism and the developing countries are developing. This is a multifaceted antagonism consisting of heterogeneous elements. This is at once a class and an intra-class clash, a struggle of the exploited classes of the developing countries against foreign capital combined herein with the struggle of the bourgeoisie of these countries with the monopolistic bourgeoisie of the developed capitalist countries.

Second, this overall fundamental line is combined with distinctions, sometimes substantial, in the position of world capital and this or that imperialist state in relation to individual regions and countries of the developing world, differing in socio-political orientation and a number of other socio-political and historical-cultural features.

The Asian region is quite instructive in this regard. A broad set of levels, types and models of development and socio-political regimes is presented here. This is facilitated by the diversity in the economic and political "behavior" of imperialism in the developing countries of Asia. Contrasts and nuances are also characteristic of the substance and forms of the sharpening contradictions on the continent.

We will begin with the group of socialist and socialist-oriented countries of Asia. Compared to other regions of the developing world on the Asian continent, socialism has put down deep roots here. The contradictions of imperialism with this group of countries are of an irreconcilable and

antagonistic nature. At the same time, substantive nuances are observed in the policies conducted by the imperialist states, and they are trying to display flexibility and make use of the difficulties arising in the mutual relations of the socialist Asian countries with each other in their own neocolonial interests.

On an economic and cultural-history plane, the socialist and socialist-oriented countries of Asia have much in common with many of the developing countries of the region. From the point of view of socio-political orientation and the prospects for development and the role in world society, however, they comprise a particular group of countries that is fundamentally different from the countries of the developing world. The political and ideological aspect therefore comes to the forefront in the contradictions with imperialism.

Another type of contradiction is developing between imperialism and the so-called new industrial countries of Asia (NICAs)--South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore and Hong Kong. On one hand, these countries are advertised as some kind of "showcase" or "model of efficiency" in the neocolonialist policies of imperialism, which can supposedly open up broad prospects for development and serve as an example for other developing countries. On the other hand, contradictions have sharpened in recent years, especially in the sphere of the economic relations of the imperialist states, and first and foremost the United States and Japan, with the NICAs. It is typical that the competitive market struggle is not limited here to the classical sectors, but is extending ever more into the production of the newest types of products that require a high level of scientific and technical progress.

The most acute knots of contradictions in Asia are most closely connected with the aggressive strategy of American imperialism. It is namely for that reason that "seats of military danger" have arisen here and "are not dying down." (Footnote 4) (Ibid.) The United States has thus done everything to bring the problem of eliminating the Near East conflict, the most drawn-out one in the modern world and which has already repeatedly developed into sharp and bloody clashes, to a dead end. Washington is inflaming the situation around Kampuchea and has transformed Pakistan into an American ally for aggression against Afghanistan, as well as into a permanent source of threats and interference in the affairs of peace-loving India.

Third, the contradictions between the developing countries of Asia and the multinational corporations that are the chief strike force of neocolonialism should especially be singled out. The scale of their activity in these countries is expanding constantly, especially in the new industrial countries of the continent. More than a third of the branches of the multinationals in sum are operating here, the number of which have reached 21,000 in all of the developing countries. It can be stated without exaggeration that the multinationals have their own interests in all of the most important spheres of the economies of many Asian countries and have an enormous influence on the structure and direction of their development and their prospects.

This article does not have as its purpose the goal of presenting the whole volume of activity of the multinational corporations in Asia and the changing

forms and methods of their expansion and its directions. We will note only such new forms as active participation in the creation and development of so-called free industrial zones in the developing countries. The activity of the multinationals in these zones is not only unlimited in practice, but they receive a series of benefits and advantages, for example freedom from duties and income taxes and the right to the unhindered export of profits.

Fourth, an exceptionally important knot of contradictions with imperialism is bound up with the production specialization of the developing countries in the world economy.

Having achieved an expansion of their production specialization, they come to be market competitors of the developed capitalist states not only for "classical" types of products, first and foremost those of light industry, but in the goods of several modern sectors of production that were created by the scientific and technical revolution. The inter-capitalist nature of the contradictions between the competing capital of the developing and the developed states is manifested herein, while at the same time this competition develops within the framework of the system of neocolonial relations between the two groups of countries.

Finally, fifth, we will note the paramount importance of such a level of contradictions as the contradictions between the state sector overall in the economic activity of the state in the developing countries, on the one hand, and the imperialist state and foreign capital on the other. In this knot of contradictions, their inter-capitalist nature is outlined more and more clearly, with just the specific feature that two unequal but socially homogeneous partners are clashing here. We would add that a whole range of socio-political regimes from among the developing countries adhering to various concepts and strategies of economic development and attitudes toward foreign capital and the role of national capital and the like can be encountered among the "young" capitalist partners.

Militarization to the Detriment of Development

The system of neocolonialism in Asia, as, by the way, in other continents as well, does not remain unchanged. It is constantly adapting itself to the changing conditions of development. In recent years, this system has become more rigid and aggressive and militaristic principles are taking sway within it. Its militarization has taken on a truly global scale today--fully in accordance with the newly appeared American strategy of "neoglobalism." Militarized neocolonialism threatens the whole group of developing countries, not "forgetting" the developing countries of Asia as well. The danger is all the greater in that it is being manifested more and more clearly in the form of the nuclear-military factor in pressure and oppression.

In the political sphere, the system of neocolonialism is called upon to affirm that "might is right" in relations with the third world. "Might is right," based on military force, is the formula upon which imperialism, and first and foremost American imperialism, counts to take its own form of neocolonial revenge for the enormous power of the blow that was inflicted on world capitalism as a result of the liberation of dozens of peoples from the

colonial yoke. The temptation for revenge is all the greater in Asia--the largest and most heavily populated continent where enormous natural resources are concentrated, including strategic ones, and where the positions and influence of the successfully developed socialist states and the prestige and reputation of a number of progressive Asian states, and first and foremost India, are being reinforced.

On a social plane, the main policy of neocolonialist expansion is the propagation of capitalist relations in the developing countries for the purpose of retaining them in the world capitalist system. The issue is not the transformation of these countries into equal partners, but to keep them at the social "dregs" of the world capitalist "boiler." The issue is directing them along the path of dependent capitalism and leaving them on the peripheral backwoods of the world capitalist system.

Modern neocolonialism also plays its sinister role in this regard, striving steadfastly to support the conservative and reactionary regimes that comprise the support for dependent capitalism or mobilizing diverse means for the struggle against progressive regimes oriented toward independent development.

In the economic sphere, neocolonialism has at its disposal a broad mechanism for the merciless exploitation of the developing countries. "Generous" aid and the "legal" terms of neocolonialist loans turn into debt servitude for the peoples making up over half of humanity. The total foreign indebtedness of these countries in 1985, for example, approached a sum equal to roughly two fifths of their total gross national product.

It is customary to consider that the crisis of foreign indebtedness has struck the countries of Latin America to the greatest extent. This is true, but only partially so, and it is necessary to make an important addition in principle. The crisis has become or is becoming a mass phenomenon for the developing world. Latin America has become the first victim, the crisis burst out there, but it was not limited--and could not be limited--to that continent. It was also extended to the developing countries of the Asian region. It is well known, for example, that the Philippines were among the ranks of the super-debtors. Over a decade (1974-1983), the debt of this country has increased by six times and has reached 13.7 billion dollars. In 1985 it increased by roughly another 11.5 billion dollars, totaling more than 25 billion dollars. The ratio of payments to service the Philippine debt to the country's export income is approaching a critical level. In Pakistan, this critical level was surpassed as early as 1983. The ratio was 22 percent then. The foreign indebtedness of South Korea reached an enormous sum--45 billion dollars--in 1985. Although the proportionate share of payments by this country to service the debt of the total amount of export receipts is smaller in relative terms (12.3 percent in 1983), the trend is clearly expressed here as well: this country is also undergoing a crisis of foreign indebtedness.

Since 1984, the third world has become a net exporter of financial resources, directed to the Western states. According to various estimates, their annual amount is maintained at a level of 20-40 billion dollars. Payments for the partial amortization of debt and interest payments on it had reached

astronomical sums--150 billion dollars--as early as 1983, no small portion of which fell to the share of the developing countries of Asia.

In the military sphere, the system of neocolonialism appears in a most unfavorable light. It should be emphasized that it is namely here that its "regional" goal--to subordinate the developing countries to its will and its interests--is fully combined with the American strategy of neocolonialism, according to which every region of the globe supposedly affects the national interests of the United States and is a beachhead for the struggle against socialism and all that is progressive in the world.

One of the central directions of the militaristic policies of neocolonialism is the inclusion of the countries of Asia, African and Latin America in the arms race. The most odious means are used for this purpose, even the food problems from which they suffer. The developing countries are tied to the arms race for many reasons. Some must arm themselves beyond measure to repulse the aggressive attacks of imperialism. Others are dragged into it by all sorts of bribes and promises of dollar crumbs. In still others, the pro-imperialist circles in power themselves follow the neocolonialist policy of the arms race. The results, however, are the same: a considerable portion of meager national resources, of which the developing countries are in extreme need, are diverted for purposes that are dangerous to them themselves. The value of annual imports of military equipment and munitions procured by the developing countries totals roughly 14 billion dollars in current prices. This is more than three fifths of total world imports of such goods.

It is hardly possible to give even a rough approximation of the colossal harm that neocolonialism has caused the peoples of the developing countries or the innumerable disasters that it has wrought. According to international estimates, one out of every five people in the developing world is starving. Some 40 million people, half of whom are children, die for this reason here every year. The absolute number of the illiterate is growing continuously and has already reached 800 million people, more than half of whom are in the developing countries of Asia.

What is the way out of this situation? One of the chief paths that mankind could follow in today's situation was expressed by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev in a speech during his recent visit to India: "If we really want to change the life of billions of people for the better in a most radical manner, the funds essential for this should be withdrawn from spending for military purposes. In other words, cut down the material basis of the arms race and transfer the funds to development purposes." (Footnote 5) (PRAVDA, 28 Nov 86.)

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

ALLEGED U.S. POLICY OF KINDLING REGIONAL CONFLICTS CONDEMNED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 2, Feb 87 p 17

[Article by V. Turadzhev: "Pouring Oil on the Fire: Why the United States Fans Regional Conflicts"]

[Text] The secret trip of former U.S. National Security Adviser R. MacFarlane to Tehran has spilled over into a major international scandal around American shipments of arms and spare parts to Iran. The scandal has grown quickly, and more and more new facts unmasking the pharisaism and hypocrisy of official Washington have come out into the open. Today it is no secret to anyone that the Americans wanted to return to Iran "through the window" after they were shown the door in disgrace. This Asian country, which has, in the words of the New York Times, "enormous strategic importance," represents too much value for them. Not the least of which is wounded pride.

The point is not only that Iran is one of the world's major oil producers. It has an extended border with the Soviet Union and should, according to the designs of American strategists, play an important role in the Near East. At one time, Washington supplied Tehran with the most up-to-date military arms and equipment for tens of billions of dollars and had fitted the shah for the role of regional gendarme. These plans, however, were not fated for accomplishment. They were canceled by the tempestuous popular revolution that occurred under anti-American and anti-shah banners. The new powers in Tehran have declared the United States its enemy No 1.

And then suddenly, this scandal with the shipments. What is behind them? Undoubtedly, the Americans want to return. To return, so as to hold sway in Iran again, as under the shah. In order to restore and strengthen its military potential. In order to transform it into a secure base for the "crusade" declared by Washington against the forces of national and social liberation in the Near East.

But there is another no less important aspect to this scandal. After all, Iran has waged a bloody war with Iraq for some seven years now. This dragged-out conflict, costing hundreds of thousands of human lives, has inflicted enormous destruction on the territory of both countries and could at any moment explode into a raging regional conflagration whose consequences simply cannot be foreseen. All of the peace-loving forces of the planet are applying

their efforts so that the dispute of the two neighboring states is resolved by peaceful means at the negotiating table. But what is the United States doing? With their military shipments to Iran, they are literally pouring oil onto the fire of the conflict. In that manner, they want to "kill two birds with one stone." First, to win over influential circles of the Iranian military to their side in order to create the preconditions for the re-orientation of Tehran so desired by Washington. Second, the United States wants a further deepening of the schism in the Arab world that provoked the Iran-Iraq war. This would reinforce the position of their "strategic ally"--Israel--and would permit them to try to foist on the Arabs a "settlement" of the Near-East conflict that would meet the interests of imperialism and Zionism. Third, Washington needs a continuation of the war so that the conservative regimes of the Arabian peninsula are in constant fear of Shiite revolution and seek protection and patronage from them.

In short, the United States is making use of the Iran-Iraq armed conflict in a self-seeking and cynical manner to satisfy its own imperial ambitions. And not only the Iran-Iraq conflict, by the way. The military shipments to Iran were made secretly, insofar as the embargo on such shipments officially declared by Washington remains in effect. They do not shrink from other "hot spots" either. Furthermore, in accordance with the Reagan doctrine of "neoglobalism," the United States of America declares that it is their right, and even their duty, to interfere unceremoniously in others' affairs "if"--we quote here the words of the WALL STREET JOURNAL--"a lesser-scale country persists in conducting policies that contradict the vital interests--economic or strategic--of this great power or its allies."

And the number of such "persistent ones" is growing to the extent that the state sovereignty of the countries liberated from colonial rule is being reinforced, their national self-awareness raised, their political experience enriched, as they implement progressive socio-economic transformations more and more decisively so as to put an end to imperialist dictate and oppression. Why do the Americans feed, dress and arm to the teeth the enemies of Angola, Nicaragua, Afghanistan and Kampuchea? Why do they support all sorts of splinter groups and unconcealed bandits warring against their own peoples? Because these peoples have decided to live not according to American standards and do not want to be subject to the dictate of Washington. "The Reagan doctrine," writes S. Rosenfeld in the journal FOREIGN AFFAIRS, "envisages a shift to the offensive. It supports liberation and efforts to recover regions controlled by the communists." The armed incursion in Grenada, the mining of the ports of Nicaragua, the bombing of Libya and the blackmail of Syria are the clearest examples of the fact that this adventurist policy is in fact being implemented.

The Soviet Union is opposing this extremely dangerous policy with a comprehensive program for the decisive improvement of the whole international climate based on the reduction and full elimination of weapons of mass destruction, first and foremost nuclear weapons. It proposes, as was demonstrated once again in Reykjavik, effective measures to ensure the international security of all states, large and small, especially those that have been drawn into conflicts with their neighbors. Necessary for this is first of all an acknowledgment of the reality of the existing world, which has

changed dramatically over the years since the Second World War. "The reluctance to acknowledge these realities is the root and main cause of so-called regional problems," noted CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev in one of his recent appearances in India.

Intolerance toward all that is new and progressive and a reluctance to acknowledge the positive changes that are occurring everywhere in the world are also manifested by such imperialist concepts as the doctrine of "neoglobalism." Imperialism puts its trust in brute force. For this, it is turning up the arms race to the highest level, acquiring and creating ever newer deadly weapons and supplying them to its friends and allies. For this it is fanning the smoldering coals of regional conflicts in Asia, Africa and Latin America. "In all probability," writes the WASHINGTON POST, "the Reagan cowboys have not limited themselves to Nicaragua or Iran, and their activity is as unrestrained as their imaginations."

It is about time for them to bridle their imaginations and return them to the realities of the nuclear-missile era.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

POLITICS, IDEOLOGY OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM IN ANGOLA REVIEWED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 2, Feb 87 pp 20-23

[Article by Candidate of Historical Sciences N. Zotov under the rubric "On the Path of Progressive Transformations": "Angola: Ideological Foundation--Scientific Socialism"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Excerpts] Some 30 years ago, on 10 Dec 56, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA, today the MPLA--Labor Party) was founded, under whose leadership the Angolan people under arms achieved independence, and in spite of the intrigues of foreign and domestic enemies are creating the preconditions for the construction of a socialist society in the country. The appearance and evolution of the MPLA and its transformation from a broad anticolonial front into the vanguard party of the workers is closely linked with the propagation of scientific socialism in Angola (and Portuguese Africa overall). The specific features of this process are reviewed in this article.

In the 1940s and 1950s, the ideas of scientific socialism came to the leaders of the anticolonial resistance in Angola--representatives, as a rule, of the middle classes--chiefly through contacts with Portuguese communists, who were the first in the mother country to recognize unequivocally the right of the peoples of the colonies to independent development at the 5th Congress of their party in 1957. Comrade-in-arms Alvaro Cunhal held the opinion at that time that "only the rapid creation of communist parties in the colonies, with basically local personnel and leadership, and consequently, with a shift in the centers directing the struggle, to the territory of the colonies themselves will be able to ensure the purposefulness of this universal struggle."

In the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s, the dissemination of scientific socialism in Portuguese Africa was directed linked with efforts to bring the broad masses into the armed struggle and give it a revolutionary character. At first this was primarily the urban anticolonial movements that took only the first steps on the path of merging with the peasant majority of the population. The principles that guided the patriots had a national-democratic substance, but in the process of preparing and extending the anticolonial struggle, the ideology of the patriots gradually evolved, under the influence of Marxism-Leninism, in a revolutionary-democratic direction. Thus, the second program of the MPLA (February 1960) was written under the considerable

influence of the Communist Manifesto. It was namely then that the insurgents adopted the Marxist-Leninist slogan of waging the struggle against foreign oppressors by all means, including violence.

During this period, the rebels for the independence of Angola still did not comprehend the revolutionary theory of the proletariat as a whole, and borrowed individual ideas and slogans from it that related directly to their activity. The program documents of the MPLA speak in particular of the elimination of the exploitation of man by man, the breaking up of the old management apparatus, the building of a national-democratic state and the establishment of public ownership of the means of production. The recognition of classes and class contradictions in colonial society and the delineation of the coincident and separate interests of social groups in various periods of the liberation movement testified to the fact that Marxist-Leninist teaching definitely had an effect on the formulation of the world views of the MPLA. Guided by it, the patriots, among whom were mulattos and whites, were able to step over racial, ethnic and social barriers and unite in the ranks of the broad anticolonial front. "At the creation of the MPLA," recalled I. Mashadu, a veteran of the liberation struggle, "we rejected a racial approach and declared that the motive force of history is class struggle."

After the beginning of the armed stage of the revolutionary-liberation movement, the leaders of the MPLA applied efforts to acquaint the rank-and-file warriors with the experience of the Russian proletariat. Centers for revolutionary training were created in the liberated regions, where universal education was combined with political enlightenment. As early as 1964, the foundations of Marxism-Leninism were included in their curricula as a required subject. Marxist literature arrived from the socialist countries, first and foremost from the Soviet Union and Cuba, through the "front-line" states. The anthology of works by V.I. Lenin "The Work of the Party among the Masses," included among the materials of the 2nd Congress of the Communist International, enjoyed the greatest popularity among the MPLA activists. Lenin's "Report of the Commission on National and Colonial Issues" was reproduced in the April issue of the MPLA press organ "Vitoria ou Morti" over 1970, dedicated to the 100th anniversary of the birth of the great leader of the workers of the world.

At the end of the 1960s, a unique form of diarchy was established in Angola (as well as in Mozambique and especially in Guinea-Bissau). The colonizers still controlled the cities and the adjoining populated regions, while in many rural regions the revolutionary democrats, based on organs of popular power, had already begun to implement a radical program of social transformations. The poor received free land allotments according to the principle of "land to those who work it." In several of the liberated regions, collective "people's plantations" or mashambash, the rudiments of agricultural cooperatives, were created. An important role in stimulating production was allotted to the "people's stores," which supplied the peasants with immediately needed implements in exchange for food. For the first time, the Angolans received the opportunity for free education and enjoyed medical assistance. The representative of one of the people's committees spoke thus of the changes that had occurred in his village after the routing of the Portuguese

colonizers: "We had only jails under them. Now, since the MPLA has come, schools and courses to fight illiteracy have appeared in our region."

In the December Manifesto of 1956 and later program documents of the MPLA, the idea of the non-capitalist development of Angola was directly reflected. The patriots proceeded first of all from the necessity of consolidating the national-liberation front. They could not help but take into account that the need to transfer all power to Africans, regardless of their social and ethnic affiliations and political orientations, continued to remain especially attractive to the masses. "We are in favor of such socialism," A. Neto emphasized at that time, "that guarantees justice for all." This thesis met the world views of many MPLA activists, world views in which there was much in common with the revolutionary-democratic concepts of a populist (people's) type that were in broad circulation at that time.

The leadership of the MPLA, however, set about creating the internal movement of a revolutionary core able to unite the working masses around itself and subsequently become the backbone of a political party, as early as in the course of the anticolonial struggle. Specialized party schools began to function in the liberated regions, where study was largely constructed on the basis of scientific socialism. The approach to the allies of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola was differentiated and subdivided into three categories: MPLA members, candidates for membership and sympathizers. In this manner, the creation of a vanguard party of the workers two years after Angola obtained independence was not a spontaneous extraordinary act. It was preceded by a long process of preparation and a period of gradual transformation of the mass movement into a vanguard political organization.

Over a comparatively short period, the MPLA has been able to accomplish deep transformations in sovereign Angola that took several decades for many other African countries. The colonial administrative system of management was completely eliminated, the property of a number of foreign companies was nationalized and the state sector moved into leading positions in industry and agriculture.

The coming to power of the revolutionary-democratic forces, however, could not help but sharpen the ideological contradictions within the national-liberation front. A secret faction was formed within the MPLA in the summer of 1976 headed by central committee member and Minister of Internal Administration N. Alvish. His allies proposed that after the winning of independence in Angola, an automatic disintegration of the anticolonial movement would begin, and former allies--the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie, having reinforced their positions, would covet political power--would desert the working class. The factionists included among the petty bourgeoisie... all whites and mulattos, regardless of their social and property standing, and proposed "putting an end to it as a class," not hesitating even in the face of the physical annihilation of representatives of it. The activity of this faction was cut off in time.

Manifestations of factionalism and the intrigues of domestic and foreign reaction made essential the most rapid possible structural consolidation of the national-liberation front and its transformation into a vanguard party.

"Having victoriously completed two stages of the heroic struggle for national liberation and having begun the process of creating the material basis for the building of socialism, the MPLA has fulfilled its historic mission as a national-liberation front," asserted A. Neto in a report to the 1st MPLA Congress, one of the principal results of which was the creation of the MPLA-Labor Party.

As was declared at the congress, the party is called upon to guide society and the state efficiently, implement political and socio-economic transformations consistently, prepare leading worker personnel to manage the country and unswervingly bring to life the ideals of proletarian internationalism. Principles of democratic centralism have been placed at the foundation of the organizational structure of the MPLA-Labor Party, and scientific socialism has been officially proclaimed its ideological basis. The party has announced the aspiration of interpreting the revolutionary experience accumulated in other countries under the specific conditions of Africa.

The modern revolutionary process in Angola has its own specific features, chief among which is the fact that the idea of the guiding role of the vanguard party has been extended to an organization that in a class regard is not a worker organization at all. Differing non-proletarian segments of the cities and villages are primarily represented in its ranks. Prolonged and painstaking work on improving the social composition of the party lies ahead.

This task is all the more difficult as colonialism has left a legacy of backwardness, poverty and economic dependence on the capitalist world in the country. National industry is poorly developed, and workers are very few in number, they often do not even have elementary education, and their class self-awareness is formed in sharp struggle with petty-bourgeois, nationalistic and religious views. The peasantry is still under the powerful influence of patriarchal customs, the reputation of tribal nobility and those in the service of religion.

These circumstances, the still high level of illiteracy among the masses and the preservation of remnants of the colonial and precolonial past in their environment substantially slow the transformation of the MPLA-Labor Party into a genuinely vanguard revolutionary force in society. After the 1st Congress, a "movement for purity in party ranks" developed in Angola, and its leading organs in the localities (party committees in the provinces and municipal committees in the cities) began to be created. The network of party cells encompasses enterprises and institutions, state farms and cooperatives. Preference is given to workers, peasants and former fighters in the partisan detachments for acceptance into the party. Campaigns for the exchange of party membership cards are conducted periodically, and people who have displayed passivity and a lack of interest in deepening revolutionary transformations are expelled from the organizations.

Under conditions of the continuing struggle against racists aggressors and their proteges and for the resurrection and reconstruction of the national economy and further social transformations, the role of the party as the organizer and inspirer of all of the patriots of its country is great indeed. "The most important task of the party," noted Jose Eduardo dos Santos, its

chairman and president of the People's Republic of Angola, "is to transform the workers from potential Marxists into affirmed Marxists, guided by this knowledge in practical activity."

The leaders of the MPLA-Labor Party and all of the patriots of Angola are aware that the further consistent development of the revolutionary process in the country depends largely on how efficiently the resolutions of party organs are brought to life, party structure is improved and the ideological and political level of the people is raised.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

CORRESPONDENT VISITS RWANDA, DESCRIBES PROBLEMS, DIFFICULTIES

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 2, Feb 87 pp 31-33

[Article by A. Prosvetov: "A Thousand Hills, a Thousand Problems"]

[Excerpts] Africa is unconventional and strange here. Probably many people are taken with this thought upon acquaintance with Rwanda, located right on the equator. One expects exhausting heat, and the temperature in the Rwandan capital--Kigali--only varies by +20 degrees the whole year round. Advertising brochures summon tourists to the "land of eternal spring," where it is possible to grow the same vegetables and fruits as in Europe.

The republic owes its beneficial moderate climate to its landscape. Kigali is located at one and a half kilometers above sea level, and the peaks of the volcanic mountains, the chain of which runs northwest, reach 4,500 meters. It is one of the earth's last refuges of the disappearing mountain gorilla.

Rwanda has also solidly consolidated another slogan as well--"The Country of a Thousand Hills." This is the name of a national decoration, a street in Kigali and a comfortable hotel in the capital.

One of the smallest African countries in area (less than 30,000 square kilometers), Rwanda's population exceeds half of the states on the continent. According to official data, the republic has six million citizens, but they say that this number is perhaps half again too low. So many Rwandans live in the neighboring countries! Earlier people fled to foreign countries to escape cruel ethnic clashes, and now, unemployment. "No openings," warns the sign at the gate of the few small enterprises and auto-repair shops in Kigali and on the building of the Ministry of Finance and Economics. In short, first place in continental Africa in population density (230 people per square kilometer) is a distressing and alarming fact for Rwanda.

Efforts are being made to reduce the natural population growth, which is 3.7 percent a year. Family-planning programs, however, encounter resistance from the very influential Catholic church. The Belgian colonial powers once "ceded" the sphere of education and culture to missionaries, and today about half of the elementary schools and more than three quarters of the secondary schools, as well as most bookstores and public libraries, are church-run.

Kigali is growing in an unrestrained fashion. In 1962, when Rwanda obtained independence, it was a town with 6,000 inhabitants. Today it has some 150,000 people, and by the end of the century, according to the most modest forecasts, there will be half a million. Then Kigali will better justify its name, which in the local Kinyarwandan language means "vast, extensive."

The Rwandan capital, stretching across the hills, has still not lost its provincial appearance. It could be taken for a mountain resort, where guest houses, rather than state institutions, are housed in tidy two- and three-story cottages. The young rainy season helps to wash and brighten the city to meet the new year. Crimson, scarlet and orange flames light the prickly bougainvillea in the front gardens. The acacia are adorned with yellow and violet torches of flowers, the umbelliferous crowns of which, closing with each other, forming a shady corridor along the central street--the Prospect of the Republic. The lawns are tended, walkways are neat, there are no cigarette butts on the sidewalks. Several African capitals have much to envy here.

The cleanliness of Rwandan cities and towns is to a considerable extent the result of the regularly held "volunteer days," in which young and old alike participate. One day a week, usually on Saturday, the citizens of Rwanda, regardless of the positions they hold, dedicate themselves to "public works." This campaign--"umuganda"--has been carried out for 12 years in a row by the sole political organization in the country--the National Revolutionary Movement for Development (MRND). The peasants, workers, students, officials and servicemen work without compensation on the construction of medical stations and schools, bridges and roads, administrative buildings and sports fields, sweep the roads and bring order to the villages. The state sends consultants and grants tools and materials to facilities under construction.

"The umuganda permits our small developing country to conserve financial resources and is an effective form of labor education," says Norbert Muaturukundo, general director for sports and recreational issues at the Ministry of Youth, Sports and Cooperative Societies.

The government is trying to slow the exodus of young people from rural areas, where almost 90 percent of the population lives. The schools have the task of inculcating children from an early age with respect for peasant labor and teaching them practical skills needed for life and the foundations of a trade.

Before independence, education was accessible only to representatives of the highest reaches of society. The name of the school existing in the court of the traditional ruler "mvami"--the "itorero," that is "the place where the elite are selected"--speaks for itself. Over the decades of colonial rule, as K. Mfizi writes in his book, the Belgian state did not build a single educational institution in Rwanda. Furthermore, it agreed to finance in part the missionary schools only on the condition that their curricula were strictly "Belgian," right up to the teaching of the Flemish language.

"Today," relates General Secretary of the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education Robert Mugema, "we have set the goal of opening the road to knowledge for all young Rwandans. About 60 percent of school-age children attend elementary classes.

This is not bad at all according to the standards of sub-Saharan Africa. It is true that less than 10 percent of those that complete elementary school continue on to secondary school. The level of illiteracy is nonetheless quite high: about 70 percent of the population cannot read or write.

The Soviet Union is specifically assisting the young republic in establishing a system of education, sending instructors to the lycee in Kigali, Rukhengere and Biumba, as well as the National University in the city of Butare.

"The professional training and conscientiousness of the Soviet instructors makes a very good impression," says R. Mugema. "We are also grateful to the USSR for the fact that it has educated three hundred Rwandans in their own country who are now working in the national economy."

Bilateral collaboration is developing in the realms of culture, information and sports. The tours of the Leningrad Circus are enthusiastically recalled in Rwanda, as are soccer matches with the participation of Soviet teams from the first league. As for the volleyball virtuosi from Dinamo near Moscow, in the words of the aforementioned N. Muaturukundo, they "simply revealed this notable sport to the Rwandans and provoked a genuine 'volleyball boom' in the country." The main result of the contacts, the general director feels, is the reinforcement of friendship between the people of the two states.

We were told that during the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of victory over fascism, there was a photo exhibition in the major cities of Rwanda dedicated to that noteworthy date. Commenting on the Message of the CPSU Central Committee, Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and USSR Council of Ministers titled "To the Peoples, Parliaments and Governments of the World," MRND General Secretary Bernard Habiman declared that this document "is fully in accord with the point of view of Rwanda, which supports the aspirations for peace throughout the world."

The community of the young African republic has approvingly received further Soviet initiatives aimed at lessening international tensions and at disarmament; they see in the reduction of global military expenditures the opportunity of rendering additional assistance to the developing countries for resolving their socio-economic problems. And in Rwanda, where the average annual per-capita income barely exceeds 200 dollars, there is a multitude of such problems. "Our country of a thousand hills is also a country of a thousand problems," acknowledged President Jean Habyarimana in a speech.

At the Ministry of Finance and Economics, my attention was directed to the fact that Rwanda has to reckon with such objective factors of a negative type as the limited nature of natural resources and the lack of an outlet to the sea. It is 1,200 kilometers to the nearest port--Mombasa in Kenya--and the shortest route there is moreover on the so-called "northern corridor" through the territory of Uganda. Prolonged political instability in that country has disrupted shipping and forced Rwanda to use the more "expensive" roundabout route through Tanzania. As a consequence of this, prices have jumped for industrial items and some foodstuffs delivered from Western Europe, speculation and the black market have flourished and interruptions in fuel

have occurred. Difficulties have also arisen with Rwandan exports, which are based on coffee, which provides for about 70 percent of the foreign-currency receipts, as well as tea and tin.

But it is not geographical isolation that heads the list of problems before the republic. The colonial past, which has today become economic dependence, first and foremost created the "thousand problems" for it. While world market prices for coffee are quite high, Rwanda is making ends meet, but there is nothing to guarantee this relative prosperity next in the month, quarter or six months. Furthermore, prices for industrial imports from the Western countries are increasing too rapidly.

The experience of the developing world has proven more than once the fragility of an economy based on the production of one or two commodities for export and subordinate to neocolonial laws. Rwanda itself has seen examples of how the vagaries of market conditions have inflicted harm on its economy. At the beginning of the 1980s, a sharp fall in prices for cinchona wood bark forced the peasants to cut down many stands of it and occupy the freed-up space with food crops. Due to marketing difficulties, the collection of pyrethrum, whose camomile-like flowers are used for insecticide, was essentially halted.

The "health" of the economy of little Rwanda is today also determined by the contacts with capitalist countries, and first and foremost with Belgium, West Germany and France. According to the official doctrine of "planned liberalism," the Rwandan state encourages private initiative and attracts foreign capital but, striving to take into account the interests of society, is introducing elements of planning, monitoring the use of national resources and participating on a proportionate basis in the activity of the leading enterprises. They are becoming more and more aware here that Western aid, without bringing substantial relief and the more so not opening up any particular prospects, leads to a rapid growth in indebtedness which, in the expression of President J. Habyarimana, "has not yet reached dangerous proportions, but is at the limit of what is permissible" (in 1983 Rwandan foreign debt was 14 percent of the GNP versus 11 percent five years earlier). "No key enterprises in the hands of those who undermine and bring to naught our efforts and take more from us than they give!" declared the head of state at the 5th MRND Congress in December of 1985.

The slogan "We will demand what has been produced in Rwanda!" has recently become popular. It reflects both a desire to achieve economic independence and faith in the industry of the Rwandan peasant, turning the mountain slopes into fields and gardens. Not enough land? That means that modern and more productive agriculture must be arranged, the leadership of the country is indicating. The "country of a thousand hills" is striving toward progress and a better life.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

SCHOLARS, AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA STAFF ON JOURNAL'S FUTURE

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 2, Feb 1987 p 46

[Unattributed article: "The Reader Disputes, the Reader Advises"]

[Text] In July, AZIYA I AFRIKA will celebrate its 30th anniversary. The journal--the sole Soviet specialized publication coming out in six languages and disseminated on a commercial basis in almost 100 states--has had some undisputed achievements. But that was not the issue at the meeting arranged at the initiative of the party bureau of the editorial board, which could be called a readers' conference, just elaborating that among its participants there were many of our permanent authors, that is, readers of particular qualifications and exactingness. We, the editorial staff members, met with the Oriental and African scholars in order to be advised on how to make our publication even more topical, clear and attractive.

"The journal should have its own face, its own credo, otherwise it will soon be lost among the other press organs," the words of the editor in chief, USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member G.F. Kim, set the tone of the discussion. Threading through the discussion was the thought that for us and the most active authors, restructuring is not a fashionable slogan, but a vital necessity dictated by the times.

The discussion centered around two questions formulated by Deputy Editor in Chief V.K. Turadzhev. First, being a serious scholarly and socio-political publication, the journal should be interesting to the general reader as well. To what extent are we successful at finding the optimal combination of materials aimed at specialists and articles--quite theoretically speaking--that are diverting and, more precisely, culturally enlightening? Second, a paradoxical situation has taken shape: the publication, in finding its way to the reader, often cannot be found at the counter. "I went around to several kiosks and asked the salespeople: they don't get your journal at all," writes Leningrad resident Y. Tolstov. "They said, yes, it exists by subscription. But I don't need every issue. I like to look through the journal first, and then buy the ones that interest me. That is what retail sales exist for!" Reasonable. By the way, dear readers, what is the situation with AZIYA I AFRIKA in your city, town or rayon?

The opinions of those who spoke, united in the understanding of the tasks that the journal is concerned with, diverged on methods of resolving them. Doctors of Historical Sciences L.B. Alayev and V.F. Li, Candidate of Philological Sciences A.A. Dolin and Candidate of Historical Sciences Yu.N. Maslov, justly noting the growth of mass interest in the Orient, called for an orientation first of all toward the broadest audience: a sharp increase in the quantity of articles on literature, art, religions, medicine, sports and the like, giving preference to short material reprinted from issue to issue, with continuations, sharp artistic works, along with the resurrection of the supplement to the journal, where it would be possible to publish Oriental classics, and in particular verses and aphorisms.

Another point of view: "surgical intervention" in our publication was opposed, an excessive list in favor of "light" topics could undermine the reputation the journal has won over the last ten years in scholarly circles. This conviction was expressed by Doctors of Historical Sciences A.B. Belenkiy, A.V. Kiva and L.R. Polonskaya, who emphasized that the interests and knowledge of the modern reader are much deeper than it sometimes seems to us. But naturally, seriousness and boredom and grayness are antipodes. All types of stereotypes and outdated approaches must be decisively expunged from its pages, a spade must be called a spade and innovation must be encouraged in conceptualizing the complex processes unfolding in the Afro-Asian world. Why do only Soviet specialists participate in roundtable discussions, can it really be that our foreign colleagues, first and foremost from Asia and Africa, have nothing to say about the problems of their own countries? The resultant debate would be keen and topical.

Many speakers heatedly recommended the introduction of the rubric "From the History of Domestic Oriental Studies": after all, there were among the Russian and Soviet Orientalists those whose biographies are more diverting than some novels. Instead of several short and quite formal reviews of new books, it would probably be worthwhile to give one or two detailed and analytical ones.

An apt observation was made by Doctor of Historical Sciences Ye.A. Davidovich: the journal must first be brought to the readers, and precisely what should be changed--and whether it should be changed--can then be considered. If the current clearly unsatisfactory situation is preserved, where many potential readers and subscribers do not know about our publication because they never see it, all of our efforts to improve the journal will be in vain.

The editors agree with this judgment. We do not feel that the practice employed at Soyuzpechat [Main Administration for the Distribution of Publications] of the mechanical and equal "scattering" of our circulation among the regions of the country is correct, and we are striving persistently for its review.

Suggestions to popularize the journal with the aid of oral editions (especially in large industrial and university cities on the periphery and before worker and youth audiences), propagate it at seminars of the lecturers of the Society for Knowledge and publish condensed "nested" materials on the pages of other mass media organs were advanced at the meeting. The idea of

organizing international competitions for a journal prize on some form of sport that is being developed successfully in Asia and Africa was brought forth.

We are truly thankful to the participants in the discussion, and we are carefully studying their advice and on that basis formulating a program of actions for the near and more distant future. We invite all of our readers to send in their observations and desires. The theory expressed in a letter that we received from Riga engineer V.N. Galochkin seems indisputable to us: "The link between you and us should be both direct and reciprocal." Such a link is already being arranged. Several oral editions of the journal have come forth--so far in Moscow; we are introducing a rubric where we will efficiently give short answers to letters and we are preparing for a readers' quiz contest. Let us jointly expand and reinforce our collaboration.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

TWO BOOKS ON ARAB, AFRICAN RELIGIONS REVIEWED

African Religions

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 2, Feb 87 pp 62-63

[Review by N. Borisov of book "Traditsionnyye i sinkreticheskiye religii Afriki (Religii v XX veke" [Traditional and Syncretic Religions of Africa (Religions in the 20th Century)] under the general editorship of An.A. Gromyko. Moscow, Oriental Literature Section of Nauka Publishing House, 1986, 588 pp]

[Text] The first book of the new series "Religion in the 20th Century" is also the first basic research work in Soviet and world African studies in which the traditional and syncretic religions of Africa are analyzed.

The authors' collective, which included the well-known Soviet scholars Yu.M. Kobishchanov, I.V. Sledzevskiy, G.A. Shpazhnikov, N.B. Kochakova, A.A. Kara-Murza, K.A. Melik-Simonyan and others, had a difficult task: not only to describe traditional and syncretic religions in historical retrospect, but to evaluate their role and social functions in the African states.

In reality, the religious outlook has an enormous influence on African society overall and impregnates all spheres of the life of Africans, be they rural dwellers or urbanites. Changes in society itself have an immediate effect on the religious cults as well and lead to the dying out and transformation of some or the inculcation and rise of others.

The book's authors did not limit themselves to just a dry description of this or that cult, but rather, making use of Marxist-Leninist methodology, showed their organic link with African reality. The scholars indicate directly that "it is impossible to understand the specific features of the process of the formation and development of political parties in a number of African countries without taking into account such a factor as religious and magical societies; it is impossible to investigate the sources of the charismatic aura that surrounds some political figures without analyzing the religious notions associated with the cult of the holy rulers, the cult of the ancestors etc."

The sections on sorcery and magic, secret magic religious societies, the priesthood and holy kings (questions that have up until now been little

covered in Soviet African studies) will evoke particular interest both among specialists and among a broad circle of readers. The importance of studying these institutions is revealed in the example of the close contacts existing in the 1970s of the ruling circles of Liberia with the secret Poro society, representatives of which took parts in rites of human sacrifice and ritual killings.

It would perhaps be incorrect, however, to ascribe all traditional institutions to "remnants of the past" which must be put to an end immediately. The governments of many countries on the African continent are actively maintaining the reputations of popular medicine. African witch doctors, as a rule, have an extensive practice and a wealth of experience, and they know the secrets of popular pharmacology extremely well.

Another important area of research is the policies of African states in relation to religions. Naturally, a number of specific features caused by local conditions can be found in the political course of every government, but the authors have uncovered an important general trend: it is not so much a rational and scientific outlook that replaces conventional beliefs in the majority of African states as it is Islam and Christianity combined with non-traditional and syncretic cults. The authors of this book justly assert that a "regional syncretism of Islam" and "African Christianity" are becoming the principal form of ideology in the countries of sub-Saharan and southern Africa and the islands.

Against the background of an "ocean" of believers, practically all of the countries of Africa have a "drop" of atheists and people who do not fully consider themselves believers, that is, do not include themselves in one of the known faiths. And although their percentage is not large, they are gradually beginning to play an appreciable role in the life of society as representatives of a scientific outlook.

Modern African society, which is accumulating a large quantity of various forms of religion, is not in a frozen state, but is constantly in development. That is why the first great step forward that has been taken by the authors of the book in studying the traditional and syncretic religions of Africa, cannot, of course, close the problem. Such a diverting and important topic awaits further serious research.

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Religion, Development

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 2, Feb 87 p 64

[Review by Candidate of Historical Sciences I. Zvyagelskaya of book "Religiya i obshchestvenno-politicheskoye razvitiye arabskikh i afrikanskikh stran. 70--80-e gody" [Religion and the Socio-Political Development of the Arab and African Countries] by D.B. Malysheva. Moscow, Oriental Literature Section of Nauka Publishing House, 1986, 227 pp]

[Text] The book researches the influence of religion (Islam and Christianity) on the ideological and political situation and international relations in a number of Arab and African countries.

Analyzing the role of the "Islamic phenomenon" in the political life of the Arab Orient, the author directs particular attention to the place of Islam in the official ideologies and the causes of the rise of "political Islam."

In illuminating the problems of the interaction of religion and politics in the countries of sub-Saharan Africa, the close link of religious and nationalistic ideologies with ethnic and racial factors is traced, and the idea is offered that the predominant trend here remains the use of religious traditions for the conservation of backward social relations and the inflaming of ethnic or racial discord, although in a number of cases progressively inclined clergy are also able to come out in defense of the social and political rights of the people. In particular, the criticism of government policy and the condemnation of apartheid by a number of South African spiritual leaders testifies to the deep processes occurring in religious institutions under the influence of changes in the socio-political life of society.

Research on the role of the religious factor in Arab-African relations occupies a particular place in the book, which factor is especially manifested in the policies of a number of Arab states and their efforts to make use of Islamic traditions as controls to pressure the political, social and spiritual development of the peoples of sub-Saharan Africa.

The negative influence of the religious factor on international relations is most clearly manifested in conflict situations (the Somali-Ethiopian, Eritrean, West Saharan and Chad conflicts), leading to an increase in political instability in the region and growth in tensions in relations between ethnic and racial groups and, finally, easing the intervention of imperialist powers that are using regional discord in their own interests.

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GENERAL ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

STATISTICS ON USSR TRADE WITH WEST

LD180204 Moscow TASS in English 1921 GMT 17 Apr 87

[Text] Moscow, 17 Apr (TASS)--The aggregate trade turnover between the Soviet Union and the industrially-developed capitalist countries amounted to about 29,000 million roubles last year.

The USSR's export ran at over 13,000 million roubles while Soviet import from those countries amounted to almost 16,000 million roubles.

On the whole, according to the data of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Trade, 1986 saw the contraction of the volume of goods exchanges between the USSR and Western countries as compared with the previous year. This was brought about by a number of causes and, in particular, by the unfavorable situation on the world market on energy carriers.

The Federal Republic of Germany still remains the Soviet Union's major trading partner among the industrially developed capitalist countries. Soviet-West German trade amounted to about 5,600 million roubles last year, with Soviet export to that country running at more than 2,700 million roubles.

Finland is the Soviet Union's second trading partner with goods turnover running at almost 4,000 million roubles (Soviet export amounted to about 1,600 million roubles).

The USSR's third trading partner among this group of countries is Japan. Soviet-Japanese trade remained practically at the level of the previous year and ran at about 3,200 million roubles (Soviet export ran at almost 1,000 million roubles).

The volume of the Soviet Union's trade with Italy amounted to 3,100 million roubles in 1986 and was practically balanced out.

Goods turnover with France ran at 2,700 million roubles (Soviet export amounted to slightly more than 1,500 million roubles), that with Britain--at 1,800 million roubles (Soviet export--almost 1,300 million roubles).

The volume of trade between the Soviet Union and the United States diminished considerably resultant, mainly, of the decreases in Soviet import. In 1986 two-way deliveries amounted to about 1,500 million roubles, with Soviet deliveries to the U.S. market running at over 300 million roubles.

The Soviet Union's trade with Austria amounted to about 1,400 million roubles (Soviet export to that country ran at 540 million roubles), with Belgium--at over 1,000 million roubles (Soviet export--almost 630 million), with the Netherlands--about 820 million roubles (576 million), with Switzerland--743 million roubles, Canada--634 million roubles, Sweden--543 million, and Australia--517 million roubles.

Goods turnover with other countries of the group in 1986 did not exceed 300 million roubles.

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CSO: 1825/168

UNITED STATES AND CANADA

U.S. CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION TO MOSCOW HUMAN RIGHTS TALKS

IZVESTIYA Interviews Wright

PM151451 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Apr 87 Morning Edition p 5

[House Speaker J. Wright interviewed under the "IZVESTIYA Interview" rubric by own correspondent A. Blinov: "J. Wright: Overcoming Mistrust"--first two paragraphs are IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] This January Democratic Congressman J. Wright became speaker of the U.S. Congress House of Representatives. An experienced American legislator, he has been elected 17 consecutive times for a district of the State of Texas. He is the author of a number of books on foreign and domestic policy.

A delegation of U.S. congressmen will be visiting the USSR in the next few days. Shortly before his departure J. Wright, now heads the delegation, gave your correspondent an interview in his office in the Capitol building. The conversation began with discussion of the U.S. economy, where the situation is becoming increasingly acute.

Washington--[Wright] We are running into a number of very serious problems, the speaker said. I would like to talk in detail about three of them. First, there is the budget deficit. Tax limitations were introduced to stimulate the economy, and as a result we plunged into the pit of ever increasing state debt. The trade deficit is also on a substantial scale. Last year it amounted to 170 billion dollars--we bought that many more foreign goods than we exported. It amounted to 2,500 dollars on average per American family. The difficulties being encountered by family farms are also of serious importance. These basic agricultural cells, and there is a very large number of them, are finding it more and more difficult to remain viable. Ways to help them must be found.

[Blinov] As a leader of the 100th U.S. Congress would you like to alter its legislative agenda as compared with the activity of its predecessor?

[Wright] We are trying to take a different view of priorities and, in particular, are showing great interest in health care and social welfare programs. We are reexamining the kind of role the government can perform in stimulating the economy. There has been an observable trend toward ever larger

increases in military expenditure and cuts in capital investments in the domestic infrastructure in recent years. I believe the present Congress could change the state of affairs. In any event we would like to make greater efforts to improve life in the United States.

[Blinov] A recent public opinion poll in the United States showed that Americans are more worried than they were 5 years ago by foreign policy problems, particularly the threat of nuclear war. Do you share that worry?

[Wright] Of course, the threat of nuclear war can leave no one indifferent, and it is only natural that Americans consider this one of the most important problems. Whatever disagreements there might be between our countries, they are not so great as to justify the savagery of war between us. Mutual destruction will solve nothing, and for that reason there is growing recognition of the general benefit of mutual and verifiable [proveryayemyy] reductions of arms and expenditure for military purposes. And it would be better for us, and for you, if these resources were spent on hospitals, medicine, vaccination, libraries, education, and a search for ways of increasing yield per unit of land. If your society and ours could channel just part of what is spent on arms into these noble aims it would be difficult to see any limit to the benefit we could bring people.

[Blinov] What in this context is your position regarding such actions by the present U.S. Administration as exceeding the limits set by the Salt II Treaty and its intention to change unilaterally the interpretation of the ABM Treaty in order to implement the "Star Wars" program? By appropriating funds for SDI Congress is facilitating this program.

[Wright] I personally think that it is in the interests of the United States, just as it is for your country, to continue observing the limits set by the Salt II Treaty. Our administration states that the USSR is in breach of certain treaty provisions. That may be so, however, the treaty's numerical limits were observed by both sides up until last November. As to the question of the present administration's intention to adopt a so-called "broad" interpretation of the ABM Treaty, the administration has actually begun consultations with Congress and the West European allies on that question. The first meeting as part of this process took place on Capitol Hill 3-4 weeks ago. Congress leaders, chairmen of the House Foreign Affairs and Armed Services Committees, and also leading Republican Congressmen belonging to these committees were present. A number of participants in the session advocated observing the traditional treaty interpretation, that is to say, that which both sides have adhered to throughout the years. We believe that the administration should not suddenly and unilaterally alter its interpretation of the treaty. Discussion on this question is continuing.

Congress will clearly leave SDI appropriations for next year at the level of the current fiscal year, that is, at 3.5 billion dollars. These appropriations are going on research work and not on SDI deployment [razvertyvaniye]. The White House request is for more than this figure, but it is being restricted by Congress.

[Blinov] The U.S. public opinion poll I mentioned shows that the American people put questions of Soviet-U.S. relations on top of the list and that an overwhelming majority favors the holding of Soviet-U.S. arms control talks. Could you comment on these findings?

[Wright] It seems to me that it is an accurate expression of U.S. public opinion. I am aware of a number of other polls which conclude that most Americans would like a mutual and verifiable [proveryayemnyy] arms reduction agreement to be reached with the USSR. Most Americans support trade between our countries and wider exchange in the cultural sphere. However, to be honest it should be noted that the polls also reflect persisting suspicion or, more accurately, mistrust--a mistrust that may exist on your side too. This is the result of 40 postwar years during which our relations have experienced successive warm and cold phases and growing trust has alternated with increasing mistrust. I personally hope that we have entered an era of understanding, trust, and mutually beneficial relations.

[Blinov] What plans do you have for the upcoming visit to our country?

[Wright] We will be visiting Kiev and Moscow. We will be in your capital on the last day of Secretary of State George Schultz' visit and will be able to obtain an on-the-spot briefing on the results of the talks. Unlike the secretary of state, we will not be holding talks. Our itinerary includes conversations and exchanges of opinion with Soviet leaders, representatives of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and also getting to know your country. We would like our visit to serve as the basis for initiatives aimed at improving mutual understanding and strengthening trust between our countries.

Coverage of Moscow Meeting

LD161822 Moscow TASS in English 1505 GMT 16 Apr 87

[Text] Moscow, 16 Apr (TASS)--No differences in the social and economic systems of the USSR and the U.S., in the approach of the sides to the problem of human rights should be obstacles to Soviet-American cooperation in preventing nuclear war, in building the bridges of friendship and mutual understanding between the peoples of the USSR and the U.S. This idea keynoted a meeting of the working group on humanitarian questions that was held in the Kremlin today. The group was set up in the framework of a meeting of Soviet parliamentarians with a delegation of the House of Representatives of the United States Congress led by Jim Wright, staying in the USSR on an official visit.

Speaking at the meeting, deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet Stepan Chervonenko set out the Soviet approach to the problem of implementing the Helsinki accords, of exercising human rights, dwelt on the reorganization taking place in the Soviet Union. Their essence is to make Soviet society more humane, to come to grips with problems of man in a broad sense of the world, human concerns and needs." Noting that an advance toward humanization had taken place before, Stepan Chervonenko said: "We realize that we have not yet been able to implement the highest humanitarian ideas of socialism in full measure. Blunders

and shortcomings took place. This happened partially for the reason that we had no opportunity for normal development. Almost half of the period of the post-revolutionary history was spent by us to repulse aggression and restore what has been destroyed. We are now striving to make up for the time lost, to reach the highest milestone."

"Democratization is a generator of this modernization. It is not a forced step under outside pressure, but a natural requirement of our development."

"We have arrived at our concept of human rights through much suffering," the speaker went on to say. He recalled the fact that the Soviet people sacrificed 20 million lives in the Second World War to assure its freedom. The reforms taking place in the country do not mean the democratization American-, British-, or French-style. And this is not for the reason that we are reluctant to borrow from other countries, he went on. "No, we have respect, for instance, for the United States, for the ideals proclaimed in the declaration of independence. But the political and social system of the United States in practice does not set up an example to emulate," Stepan Chervonenko said. In this connection he noted the priority importance for the Soviet Union of ensuring collective human rights, above all such fundamental rights as the right to work.

The United States overall approach to the problem of human rights does not meet with the understanding of our public, the speaker noted. It is often talked in the United States about human rights in other countries, but not in the United States itself. We also find it hard to understand when the United States raises questions of human rights in other countries, while avoiding international cooperation in this area, and participating in only seven out of the 22 most important international agreements in this area. Chervonenko emphasized that people in the Soviet Union sometimes get the impression that the United States is deliberately whipping up tensions in the question of human rights in order to hamper the solution of more difficult and more important problems, specifically the problem of taking humanity out of a nuclear impasse. "A different road should be taken, a road of cooperation with unlimited emulation in the humanitarian area. What we need is precisely cooperation, and not confrontation," he said.

The Soviet parliamentarian emphasized particularly that the Soviet Union is disappointed by U.S. attitude to the Final Act of the Helsinki conference, since the United States concentrates attention only on the third basket, ignoring problems in the two other baskets, including problems of international security, trade. We propose a different approach: the quest of the ways of cooperation and mutual understanding, he said. In conclusion, Stepan Chervonenko pointed again to the Soviet Union's proposal to hold in Moscow an international conference to discuss the entire complex of humanitarian problems and expressed the hope that the United States will support the idea of such a forum.

Congressman Steny Hoyer noted in his speech the meeting between General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz that had just been held in Moscow. He said they had emphasized a huge responsibility for averting nuclear catastrophe which rests on the two countries. This is a task of great importance, the congressman said. He described the signing of the Final Act of the Helsinki conference as the "culmination" in the Soviet-American and international cooperation in the humanitarian area. He noted that the two countries must strive to implement the obligations assumed in accordance with this document. Congressman Hoyer, however, made no secret of the fact that the United States concentrates the attention on precisely the questions of the third basket, that is problems of human rights. He asserted, though, that U.S. politicians are aware of the importance of resolving questions of international security.

He set out the known U.S. stand on individual human rights, admitted the existence of serious problems in the American society--a high unemployment rate, racial discrimination, women's inequality and other problems. He said the congress has been paying in the recent years considerable attention to resolving these problems. We have not yet succeeded in fully implementing our high ideals, but we are striving to do so, he said. Steny Hoyer said he fully agreed with the opinion of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev that the point of the matter is not whether we should or should not love each other. It is to assure mutual confidence in our relations. He said the American congressmen arrived in the Soviet Union to build such bridges of mutual understanding so that a better and safer world be let for the succeeding generations.

Deputy Yuriy Zhukov devoted his speech to the problem of expanding Soviet-American ties in the humanitarian sphere. He pointed out that a day of political prisoners was observed in the United States the other day on the initiative of the American public organizations. Names of a number of Americans who were thrown behind the bars for their political convictions were cited in this connection. Yuriy Zhukov said that the whole world closely follows the destiny of leader of American Indians Leonard Peltier who was sentenced to two prison terms for life. He emphasized that the Soviet Union has not yet received the answer to the invitation of Soviet ophthalmologists to Peltier, threatened with blindness because of a progressing eye disease, to come to the USSR for treatment.

Meanwhile, when Yelena Bonner asked the permission for a trip to the United States for eye treatment, the Soviet authorities gave her this permission twice, even though she was then in detention, serving a sentence, the Soviet deputy said.

Yuriy Zhukov pointed to the fact that though the United States often describes itself as an open society and the Soviet Union as a closed society, it is most often precisely the United States that puts obstacles to free exchange of delegations between the two countries. In this connection he pointed to

the existence in the United States of the McCarthyist McCarran-Walter law which has become the main obstacle to the widening of the exchange of opinions and free discussion between representatives of the USSR and the U.S. Meanwhile, we are prepared for a still greater expansion of such ties, Zhukov said. "It would be naive to think that you will be able to convert us to your creed, and we shall be able to convert you to ours. Live and let live, as they say in America. In the nuclear age we have no alternative to abandoning the attempts to make each other alter our systems. We are not adversaries but partners in the struggle for survival," Yuriy Zhukov said.

The meeting in the Kremlin passed in an open, businesslike atmosphere.

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CSO: 1807/274

UNITED STATES AND CANADA

USSR FOREIGN MINISTRY STATEMENT ON U.S. ESPIONAGE

LD091756 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 9 Apr 87

[Statement of the USSR Foreign Ministry read out by Pyadyshev, deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, at a press conference in the USSR Foreign Ministry press center on 9 April conducted by Pyadyshev, on the subject of the utilization of espionage equipment by U.S. special services against Soviet citizens and offices in the United States--recorded]

[Text] The hostile actions by U.S. special services directed against the interests of the Soviet state, and against Soviet institutions in the United States, evoke indignation and protest in the Soviet Union, among Soviet people.

These are the unceasing provocations against Soviet people working and coming to the United States. These are unlawful attempts by the U.S. authorities to create unbearable working and living conditions for Soviet diplomatic and consular missions in Washington, New York, and San Francisco. What is particularly revolting is the tactic of false charges against the Soviet side in an obvious attempt to divert attention from one's own lawlessness and flagrant violations of standards of international law and morality.

It should be noted specifically that the practice of electronic invasion of the offices of Soviet missions and the homes of their staff is deeply rooted and has assumed an enormous scale. One constantly comes across facts of the secret planting of bugs and high-tech surveillance technology. These unlawful operations of the U.S. secret services cause serious obstacles to the normal functioning of personnel in the Soviet missions and immediately affects the individual rights of Soviet citizens and, in a broader sense, constitutes a factor complicating Soviet-U.S. relations.

This is manifested in particular with regard to the new complex of residential and office buildings of the USSR Embassy in Washington. A considerable number of spy devices planted by the U.S. secret services has been discovered in these buildings.

A ramified system of similar devices had earlier been discovered in the USSR consulate-general building in San Francisco, in the USSR Trade Mission building, in the embassy's residential building and country house in Washington

and in the residential complex of the USSR mission to the United Nations in New York. Resolute protests were lodged with U.S. official authorities. It was stressed that such actions adversely affect Soviet-U.S. relations.

The recently discovered instances of the installation of bugging devices testify, however, that U.S. secret services are continuing their unlawful actions. Moreover, the scale of the use of espionage equipment for eavesdropping on the premises of Soviet diplomatic and other institutions in the United States, and on residential quarters, too, has increased and the forms of its installation have become more subtle.

Soviet and foreign journalists attending today's press conference can see numerous U.S. bugging instruments and devices detected and rendered harmless in Soviet missions in the U.S. These are hard facts. These are not words or assumptions, but hard evidence showing in reality who is intruding into the sovereign territory of others.

The espionage equipment displayed at the press conference is hard evidence of how low the moral standards are of not only the U.S. intelligence community. It also indicates how these actions of Washington are strikingly at variance with the standards of international law, with the rules and customs of interstate contacts.

The following question arises in this connection: what are high-placed representatives of the United States Administration guided by when, while being perfectly aware of the actions of their intelligence services against the Soviet Union, they try to cast aspersions on the Soviet Union and generate a new flareup of runaway anti-Sovietism? It does not become political leaders to treat such serious matters with irresponsibility.

Who wanted the subversive operations of the U.S. secret services to reach their peak precisely at this moment? Who benefits from this campaign of spy mania with anti-Soviet coloration entering another round in the United States precisely today?

The answer is clear. The forces of the extremist, militarist wing in the United States, those who have an interest in continued tension and an atmosphere of hostility, and those who are opposed to the normalization of relations with the Soviet Union, have come into play. They appear to be afraid that the American people may shake off war psychosis and finally ask: Who stands to gain from this perpetual arms race, and is it not better to put an end to it? That is why these forces are frightened by the incipient prospect of new Soviet-U.S. contacts on urgent international issues, including the Soviet initiative for the elimination of Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe. That is why they are trying to reverse U.S. policy and have used subversive actions and the whipping up of spy mania toward this purpose.

It is these forces in the United States that bear full responsibility.

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CSO: 1807/273

UNITED STATES AND CANADA

U. S. DIPLOMAT IN MOSCOW SOLICITING EMIGRANTS

Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 19 Mar 87 p 3

[Article by I. Osinskiy of BELTA: "Anti-Sovietism: How It Is Done. 'Call us up! The West Will Support You. . .']

[Text] After receiving a telegram stamped "Governmental," the Khordos family from Bobruysk read through it carefully, passed it around from one person to another and reread it.

"The post office most likely got things mixed up!" said Meyer Khordos. "Why would I, a pensioner, need an American consul?"

And his wife's hands suddenly began to shake slightly:

"Something has happened with our son," turning pale, she barely got the words out. . .

Several years ago, succumbing to Zionist propaganda, one of the Khordos' two sons left for Israel. His hopes for the unusual and almost fabulous life that the "Voice of America" and the "Voice of Israel" had promised were not justified. Instead of bliss, he experienced bitterness and humiliation. Convinced that he could not hope for anything better in the "promised land," he moved to the United States. Fortune across the ocean was more favorable for the former resident of Bobruysk. And he asked his relatives and brother to join him.

The move of the Khordos' was delayed, because the son was not a U. S. citizen. And now, suddenly, this unexpected and strange telegram. . .

The mother decided to have a conversation with the American consul herself. She asked only that her husband and son take her to the telephone exchange center. The last stretch of several hundred meters seemed endless, and the minutes that she waited for the call to go through seemed an eternity. Her

aroused senses evoked pictures that were successively more frightening. And when she finally heard an unfamiliar voice over the phone, she did not ask but literally gasped:

"What has happened to my son?"

The other end of the line did not understand at first:

"Son? Whose son? Yours? . . . Well, I do not know about your son, Mrs. Khordos. We are interested in why they are not letting you out of the USSR. Give us all of the details: Who is putting obstacles in your way? For what reasons? Name names, positions. . . Inform us about this continuously!"

I admit that the American consul formulated his questions somewhat differently, for I am recounting this conversation from what the Khordos' told me. But one thing is certain--it was not the fate of our Bobruysk people that interested the U.S. diplomat, but information about imaginary violations of their rights. Apropos of this, when it did not receive any information from Bobruysk, the consulate after a certain time once again called up the Khordos' for another talk. But none of them went to the telephone exchange again.

"We consider these telegrams to be provocations and a crude interference in our personal life, which contradicts not only Soviet but American laws as well," said Marat Khordos. "It is especially regrettable that this is being done not by private persons, but by highly placed government employees of the United States. We did not ask any of them for help."

"I want to declare officially: our decision about leaving for the U.S. was not prompted by political motives--we completely approve our socialist system and the Soviet way of life, and we consider it to be more humane and just. We wanted to go to the United States for purely material reasons. We thought naively that we would live better in the West with the help of my older brother. But we became convinced that this is not the case. The moreso because our mother took ill. She is being treated, of course, at government expense. But there, in the U.S., as our brother indicates, we would have to put out all of our savings for this. I do not think we would have enough. In addition, stories by those who have already experienced the western way of life have convinced us that happiness is more than a good financial situation."

"I work as a joiner of the fifth category in the 'Mogilevbytmebel' [Mogilev household furniture] association. I like my work. I also like the benevolent atmosphere that prevails in the collective and the management's concern for us, the workers. In the West, as we now realize, you cannot count on this."

"My family has decided once and for all that our real homeland is here, in the USSR. And we earnestly ask the gentlemen from the U.S. not to bother us anymore, and not to use our name for their selfish, and I would even say, foul purposes."

It is hardly necessary to add any lengthy commentary to these words. Their sincerity cannot be doubted--Marat Khordos also appeared on television with a

similar announcement.

I would just like to comment that the attempt to win over the Khordos' in preparation for tendentious and false information about the USSR undertaken by certain official persons from the U.S. is not incidental but one of the continuous lines in their far from diplomatic activity. They are trying in every way--using the press, tourists etc.--to find malcontents in our country and, approaching them with hypocritical concerns, to use them as a trump card in anti-Soviet propaganda. The fate of another person reinforces this conviction.

Martha Rudnitskaya works as a DEU [road maintenance section] engineer in Gomel. She was born in the area. She graduated from high school and the road-transport technical school. At first she lived with her parents, but now she has her own 2-room apartment. At one time, influenced by acquaintances who went to Israel, she also decided to try her luck, especially since her personal life was not fairing very well. But, thinking it over and understanding to what dangers she would be exposing her daughter, to whom she did not even have the courage to confide her intentions, she tore up the application. "After I did this, I sensed a great relief, as if a stone was lifted from my heart," M. I. Rudnitskaya explained. "I tried to forget my frivolous intentions forever. . ."

But she was soon reminded about it. She began to receive parcels with various items addressed to her from abroad. She refused to receive them, considering it insulting to accept help from uninvited "benefactors." But the parcels continued to come. And soon she was included among those in radio broadcasts who seemingly were trying with all their might to leave the USSR, but, being turned down, she was forced, they say, to languish in unbearable conditions.

I could continue to cite similar examples. The majority of those for whom western propaganda sheds crocodile tears, and who are entered into registers of so-called "refuseniks" that are manipulated at negotiations, all in all are people who were deceived in the past but whose eyes have been opened. They want to live quiet lives. But the subversive mechanism, turned on by the hand of Zionism, continues to operate--it tries to convince and it summons:

"Call us up! The West will support you. . ."

13052
CSO: 1807/228

UNITED STATES AND CANADA

PRAVDA NOTES RESPONSE TO DONAHUE TV PROGRAMS

PM171005 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Apr 87 First Edition p 5

[Article by D. Kosyrev: "There Is No 'Dual' Openness; On Phil Donahue's Broadcasts"]

[Text] It may be said without exaggeration that the broadcasts prepared by central television with the participation of U.S. television announcer Phil Donahue have become an event. An event which was unexpected for many people and which has generated an ardent and diverse response from our viewers.

Now that the broadcasts have ended and Donahue has already returned to the United States, it would be possible to undertake a comprehensive analysis of them. But I do not claim to do that. I shall discuss just one thing: how we answer the U.S. journalist's questions and how our viewers react to this spectacle.

Understandably, the form of direct discussion broadcast which has been in existence in the United States for a long time is unusual for us. And not even the form itself but the fact that people are speaking from the screen about the most vital, acute, and painful issues--and not from a piece of paper and not after several rehearsals but immediately and sincerely and, the main thing, to an audience of millions.

I remember asking some youths outside the "Strela" movie theater after the showing of the movie "Is It Easy To Be Young?": What have you seen here that's new? "Nothing new," was the reply. "We could have said just as much, but it is interesting that it's on the screen..." A unique phenomenon: Yes, we know about it but it is not yet customary to discuss it out loud.

But here it is not even this which is the point. Some people, and I am not afraid to use the word, were shocked not so much by the fact that those taking part in the television linkups and discussions were asked "those" questions which are not customary for us--about our intimate life, about leaving the USSR, and about serving in Afghanistan--but by the fact that it was an American who was asking and who was being answered.

I shall attempt to give an account of some letters from viewers. Many contain questions like these: Who allowed an American to try to extract information from Soviet people? And, the main thing, why did they tell him... the truth? Here are lines I remember: "Everything was going well until one woman... said she had been on the waiting list for an apartment for 10 years and because of that could not have children. Let her wait another 100 years and may she rot for telling an American that. In our country everyone lives in good apartments."

I shall not give the names of the writers of these letters here although it seems to me they would not object. And I omit some of the terms they used. Indeed, there are missives which are milder in form: "They have overdone the frankness to such a point that they have shown the Soviet way of life in the most unseemly form" (V. Goncharenko, Drogobych). "What are you doing, comrades?! Shame on you. Who are you trying to ingratiate yourselves with?" (V. Fedorova, Sevastopol).

You can understand that the authors of these letters would like to achieve entirely clear aims--showing the Soviet way of life in a good way. But by their methods it is possible to achieve just the opposite. After all, the authors of these letters are in favor of lying from the television screen and against telling the truth to an American, to an American audience. Let's suppose that we do not agree with much that was said in reply at these discussions, but the authors of the angry letters do not dispute that such opinions exist in our country, they are merely in favor of concealing them... They are not even embarrassed by the fact that the very next broadcast might possibly mention--in reply to a television journalist of our own--whether it is really true that "everyone in our country lives in good apartments." Nor, finally, are they embarrassed by the fact that any foreign correspondent working in Moscow, if he were to miss this television program, could take an article from our press where we do not conceal our shortcomings, translate it, and telex it to his newspaper. All this, it seems, is unimportant--the main thing is to "deal a rebuff."

This viewpoint is in fact admitting that there are two opennesses: One for us, the other--even if it is counter to the facts and logic--for export.

Perhaps it is worth describing here the reaction to Donahue's work in the United States. After the broadcasts had been shown this television journalist was reckoned by U.S. rightwingers to be virtually a red. He generated fury in the camp of the extremist--a hooligan attack was carried out against Donahue at the airport. Why? For months rightwing propaganda has been asserting that renewal in the USSR, democratization, openness are a fiction. That was how they were trying to restrain U.S. inhabitants' sharply increased interest in what is taking place in our country. And there were millions of Americans seeing on the screen that this was a lie: Soviet people talking boldly and directly about everything which perturbs them. Seeing that they were not afraid of admitting their shortcomings, for after all that is a sign of strength, not weakness. Incidentally, they also learned that the audience had been chosen only by Donahue himself--literally on the street. Finally, many of the broadcasts

were shown at the same time as the delirious anti-Soviet television series "America"--about the United States' "occupation" by Russians--that is, they essentially "dampened" the anti-Soviet charge. That is what Donahue involuntarily struck a blow against, that is why he was relegated to the ranks of the "pinkos."

Involuntarily because Donahue himself is an eminent bourgeois journalist and for him working in the USSR was a means of increasing his fame. Yet some people earn renown by shooting "America" while others...

But that is the United States and that's another story, as they say. But what has this central television series given us Soviet people? Much can be said here. Here are words from the letter written by M. Balbysheva from Leningrad: "The American journalist was able to raise important questions, but where were our journalists that they have never touched on them?" But I would highlight the following point: The broadcasts showed us ourselves. We were as it were looking at ourselves through the eyes of others.

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CSO: 1807/272

UNITED STATES AND CANADA

OTTAWA TALKS FAIL TO BRIDGE U.S.-CANADIAN 'GULF'

PM091009 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Apr 87 Morning Edition p 4

[B. Ivanov International Commentary: "Differences Remain"]

[Text] "No change." That phrase, in one form or another, is to be found in today's coverage by U.S. and Canadian reporters of U.S. President R. Reagan's visit to Ottawa, which has just ended, and his talks with Canadian Prime Minister M. Mulroney.

This was their second meeting. The first was in the spring of 1985, soon after the Progressive Conservative Party, headed by Mulroney, came to power in Canada. At that time the Canadian Government was trying to establish good relations with Washington and, having secured its support, to begin a "new chapter" in the two countries' relations which had been characterized for many years, according to Canadian commentators, as "one-way traffic favoring America." The two years since then have changed little in Ottawa's relations with its wealthy and influential southern neighbor. Even though the White House boss called Canada America's "cousin," Washington in fact still views this country as a "stepdaughter," and, like a wicked stepmother, mistreats it and keeps it half-starved.

For that reason it was quite natural that the latest talks should be dominated by questions of bilateral relations. This applies primarily to acid rain--acid discharged into the atmosphere by U.S. industrial enterprises in the United States which are destroying vast areas of Canadian forests and killing the fish in the country's lakes. The agenda also featured questions of bilateral agreements on "free trade" and shipping rights in the Arctic north of Canada.

As the speeches by the two states' leaders in the Canadian parliament show, no concrete agreements have been reached on the questions under discussion. As the U.S. journalist D. Francis said, the United States has again "insulted Canada, and very brutally" by refusing to satisfy the Canadian side's demands to halve the harmful discharges by U.S. enterprises into the atmosphere.

Bilateral trade questions also remained deadlocked. While paying lip-service to allowing the free flow of goods across the U.S.-Canadian border, Washington is in fact willfully continuing to place all kinds of obstacles in the way of Canadian exports.

Canada did not give a positive response to Washington's demand to allow U.S. warships free passage through Canada's Arctic waters. On the question of war and peace, B. Mulroney noted that the country's people are "profoundly concerned at the arms race and inspired by the arms reduction prospects which have materialized recently."

The U.S. Administration head put forward extensive arguments on the "advantages of the Western way of life" and the need for the struggle for "freedom" and "democracy" and again boosted the infamous SDI program. On the essence of the problems under discussion at the talks, Reagan acknowledged that he cannot offer any "quick or easy answers" to them. Washington's stance aroused the Canadians' legitimate indignation. The U.S. President's speech in parliament was repeatedly interrupted by the parliamentarians' loud demands that the White House halt the preparation for "star wars," refuse its support for the contras, and end the interference in Nicaragua's affairs.

Summarizing the results of the latest U.S.-Canadian meeting, observers there are noting that although both Reagan and Mulroney needed the talks to be successful, the former because he is trying to scramble out of the quagmire of "Irangate," the latter as he seeks to increase his diminished popularity in the country, the gulf between the sides' positions remained so great that neither Ottawa nor Washington managed to build even a shaky bridge across it.

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CSO: 1807/273

UNITED STATES AND CANADA

SOVIET OFFICIAL REFUSED ACCESS TO U.S. CITY

PM161046 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Apr 87 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Banned..."]

[Text] San Francisco, 10 Apr--The U.S. State Department has refused a representative of the USSR Consulate General the right to visit the city of Vancouver, Washington, where a jubilee exhibition in honor of the first non-stop flight from Moscow to America via the North Pole opened on Thursday.

For some years enthusiasts from the Chkalov Committee have been collecting exhibits and documents, piece by piece, for a unique exhibition to mark the 50th anniversary of the immortal feat of Chkalov's crew. Half a century ago the inhabitants of Vancouver were the first to greet the Soviet heroes on American soil. A monument has now been erected on the site where the ANT-25 plane landed, and a small museum has been set up. Interest in this memorable date in the history of Soviet-American relations has not lessened.

The opening of the exhibition was awaited with impatience by the entire city, where memories of the airmen are carefully preserved. Prominent representatives of the public from the state and from the whole country gathered for the ceremony, and numerous meetings were planned. However, the U.S. Government again tried to wreck the festival. For several years in succession Soviet official representatives who have been invited to Vancouver for Chkalov events have met with a categorical ban from the State Department.

The Vancouver exhibition has opened. Ordinary Americans do not forget Russian people. Despite the administration's stubborn desire to erase everything positive from the history of the two countries' ties.

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CSO: 1807/273

UNITED STATES AND CANADA

RIGHT'S INFLUENCE ON POST-IRANGATE REAGAN ANALYZED

PM151325 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Apr 87 Morning Edition p 5

[A. Shalnev article: "Third Term or 'Irangate' Postscript"]

[Text] In the rapid succession of events across the Atlantic the following somehow did not immediately impinge on people: President Reagan has appointed Edwin Fuellner as consultant to the cabinet and White House apparatus for the coordination of administration domestic policy.

The briefest commentary on this appointment might be the exclamation: "Made it!" The 6-year-long political alliance between the White House and the Heritage Foundation has finally been administratively registered and thereby legitimized. This organization, of which the newly fledged White House functionary is president, can be variously described as ultraconservative, extreme rightist, and reactionary. Any of these epithets is suitable but even when taken together they will give no conception of the significance, the place, and, most importantly, the role that the Heritage Foundation plays in U.S. political life if you do not also add that it is closely connected with the upper circles of the Reagan Administration. How closely? To the extent that recommendations made by the foundation, which functions as a think tank, are taken as no less than a guide to action by the White House.

Once having decided to check whether this was true, I compared the adminititory report prepared by the foundation with the very major foreign trip made by Reagan, with what the President did during the trip and the kind of results he set out to achieve, since there was adequate official information available on this. There was a very high correspondence between the two: The President scrupulously followed almost all the advice the foundation give him on virtually every count.

The quite reasonable question then arises: Why draft Fuellner into the White House on an official basis if the Heritage Foundation does indeed enjoy extremely strong positions there?

Let us try to get to the bottom of it.

The 34-minute press conference Reagan gave in February, which he twice rehearsed in advance with his closest advisers and at which he was questioned almost exclusively about "Irangate," closed the page on the noisy political scandal that rocked the administration last November. I am convinced of this, despite the fact that Congress is still continuing its investigation. But for the President personally and even more for his closest entourage, which has been almost completely renewed in the last few months, this scandalous page has been happily turned over. Yes, a draft resolution demanding the President's impeachment has been introduced in Congress, but there is no point in taking such intentions seriously: You would do better to look at what White House Director of Communications Patrick Buchanan wrote recently in NEWSWEEK: "As opposed to the 'Watergate' situation, this time the Democrat-controlled Congress will lack the courage to deal with the President."

I agree. The investigation being carried out by both houses of Congress may spring no few surprises, but the consequences are predictable: Another two or three subordinates will be found to "take the rap." The Reagan White House does this in masterful fashion, and not just with "Irangate." And for that reason it seems to me that the President was far from showing off or burying his head in the sand when he said at a conference for government employees a few days ago: "Today we are not thinking about the last 6 years but about the next 2." And added: "I can briefly describe our strategy thus: My friends, we do not intend to be idle and wait for our time to be over. Instead, we will make these two years the greatest quarter of the presidency."

Reagan described the remaining 22 months of his time in office as a "quarter." Some of his advisers define this more precisely as the third term. They consider the first four years in the White House as the first term and the period from reelection to the beginning of "Irangate" as the second. And now you have the third and decisive term, decisive for all those whom it is customary to consider as the political and ideological bulwark of the Reagan presidency. NEWSWEEK described their guiding principle in these last 22 months as "win or bust," or "all or nothing," as one might say. From their standpoint, there is a danger that the "Reagan revolution" will not be carried through, since the President has been weakened by "Irangate" and is unable to effectively resist pressure from those who wish to thwart it, whether they be the Soviets or liberals on Capitol Hill. Even... Secretary of State George Shultz has landed up among the opponents of the "revolution," which intends to carry out foreign and domestic policy programs and socioeconomic measures dictated by extreme conservatism. He was described as "Moscow's beloved ally" at a recent demonstration organized in Washington by rightists. This label is a direct warning to the secretary of state to stay within the limits of the talks with the Soviet leadership during his upcoming trip to the Soviet Union.

However, judging by the statements now being made by administration officials, including Shultz himself, it would be too much to expect the secretary of state to "exceed the limits." Moreover, he will be bound hand and foot by the decisions taken at the pre-visit session of the NSC, where the tone will be set by those whom even the most ultrarightists do not categorize as "Kremlin favorites."

I think that the fears that the upper echelons of the administration contain opponents--overt or otherwise--to the "Reagan revolution" are unwarranted. But that there are many such opponents on Capitol Hill is quite obvious. It is pointless, however, to exaggerate their influence or, more precisely, the degree to which they are consistent in their opposition: We have frequently found that just a few days after one or another presidential defeat in committee or subcommittee has been painted that it is reported in much more restrained tones that the House of Representatives or the Senate, "toeing the White House line" or "under White House pressure," has voted in the way that the administration wanted. But one is bound to notice now that the ultrarightists are displaying a level of activity never perhaps previously seen during the Reagan presidency. But, after all, the President's position has perhaps never been so infirm as today.

Is "Irangate" responsible? Partly, yes. But only partly, since "Irangate" only highlighted and exacerbated the deep crisis affecting the present Washington administration, especially in the sphere of foreign policy activity, where diplomacy, in the highest sense of that term, has been replaced by adventurism and blackmail.

The administration's authority resides in the authority of its leader. There is a direct link here. And not just because TIME magazine, assessing the latest Reagan press conference, noted with open malice: "The President's task was not a great one. It was simply necessary to demonstrate that he was capable of handling himself competently for half an hour." The President coped perfectly well with the task, according to reporters. But first, this in no way affected his popularity rating (which remains low), which is already unusual in itself. And second, and this is considerably more important, he received literally a few days after a sizeable blow in Congress: despite his personal lobbying, which was particularly intense, the Senate rejected the President's veto on one of its important economic bills. And it can be supposed that this is the herald of much more serious confrontation between legislative power--in the shape of Congress--and executive power--in the shape of the President, confrontation on not only economic questions but on issues like arms control.

Here indeed lies the key to understanding why the ultrarightist forces have been so active and why, not content with just preparing adminitory reports, the Heritage Foundation has moved its man into one of the most important posts in the White House apparatus. His task is to stave off doubts and hesitation that could, God forbid, arise in the very highest echelons under the impact of ever clearer demands being voiced by the American people and Congress as well as the world public. The above-mentioned Patrick Buchanan wrote in an "open memorandum" to the president: It has been said that every president receives one line in the history text books. Of Lincoln it is said that he "saved the Union and freed the slaves" and of Franklin D. Roosevelt that he "began the New Deal and waged World War II." There is still time for people to be able to say of you, Mr President: He "restored the spirit of America and its economy, built a great space shield, and drove communists out of North America."

There would probably be no point in citing Buchanan--one of the heavyweight ideologues of neoconservatism--in such detail if literally two days after the memorandum was published, Reagan had not spoken and, as if to pacify his jittery supporters, had declared the White House's full commitment to the "strategic defense initiative" and readiness to ensure the "cause of freedom" not just in America, but specifically in Nicaragua, as well as in Afghanistan, Africa, and Cambodia.

TIME magazine has carried a series of extensive analytical articles, asking... "Can Reagan recover after 'Irangate'?" And here is a letter sent to the weekly's editorial office by a reader from the Canadian Province of Ontario and which consists of just two lines: "I think he can. And that is just what is frightening." The Canadian is not alone in his disquiet.

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CSO: 1807/273

UNITED STATES AND CANADA

REPORTS ON U.S. EAST-WEST TRADE FORUM

PM130955 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 7 Apr 87 p 3

[TASS correspondent A. Shitov dispatch for SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIAY:
"Counter to Common Sense"]

[Text] New York--A conference on questions of East-West trade relations has been held in a suburb of Phoenix (Arizona). It was held at the initiative of top U.S. higher study courses in organizing foreign trade. Taking part were officials, eminent U.S. scholars, and businessmen.

"The theme of our conference," (Nella Krouell), one of its organizers, noted, "reflects U.S. business circles' growing interest in developing mutually advantageous trade and economic relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states." As a whole, she stressed, an atmosphere of optimism reigned at the conference. All its participants, including those who are not without prejudice against the Soviet Union, believe that Soviet-U.S. trade has a great future. This is particularly important because, as many speeches noted, its successful forward development can promote the establishment of cooperation between the great powers in other fields.

In the speakers' opinion, in the eyes of the Americans the USSR's initiative to create joint enterprises with the participation of foreign capital on its territory has become the key to the all-round expansion and deepening of trade between the USSR and the United States. As James Giffen, president of the American-Soviet Trade and Economic Council, said at the conference, in the brief period since the USSR announced its plans to create such enterprises, the U.S. and Soviet sides have already exchanged letters about their readiness to develop cooperation in 10 different fields--from conventional and atomic power engineering to the joint organization of variety shows. In J. Giffen's opinion, a further five or six such letters may be signed as early as this year.

Against the background of these statements, which attest to U.S. business circles' desire to develop equal trade and economic relations with the USSR, a note of discord was sounded by the speech delivered at the conference by (Vel Zubyak), a spokesman for the U.S. Department of Commerce, who militated for the pursuit of a discriminatory policy against the Soviet Union. In

particular he said that the so-called Jackson-Vannik amendment, which makes questions of trade relations dependent on problems which have nothing to do with them, "is justified and continues to enjoy the administration's full support." But this approach failed to meet with a response among the majority of those taking part in the forum and met with a fitting rebuff in their speeches.

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CSO: 1825/163

UNITED STATES AND CANADA

BRIEFS

U.S.-USSR JOINT FISHING EXPEDITION--Nakhodka, 16 Apr (TASS)--The fishermen of the Soviet Union and the United States have begun this year's second joint fishing expedition in Bristol Bay within the framework of the Soviet-American company on marine resources. The fishermen are catching plaice. The flotilla includes about 40 fishing boats equally representing the two sides. The first joint expedition completed cod fishing operations, producing 20,000 tons of fish. The Soviet-American company supplies fish to the markets of the Soviet Union, the United States, as well as other countries of the Pacific Ocean Region. [Text] [Moscow TASS in English 1009 GMT 16 Apr 87 LD] /9738

U.S.-SOVIET TRADE CONFERENCE--San Francisco, 10 Apr (TASS)--The participants in a conference, which was held in Portland (Oregon) and which dealt with prospects for Soviet-American trade, declared for active development of trade-and-economic contacts between the states of the Western coast of the U.S. and the Soviet far east. Pointing out a great importance of the Soviet Union's initiatives (which were put forward in the speech made by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in Vladivostok in summer last year) for the development of international cooperation between the countries of the Pacific Ocean area, representatives of business circles mapped out specific ways for the establishment of business contacts between Soviet far eastern enterprises and companies of the U.S. west. A possibility of establishing joint-venture enterprises in the food, wood-and-paper, and mining industries was pointed out in particular. [Text] [Moscow TASS in English 1327 GMT 10 Apr 87 LD] /9738

CSO: 1825/163

WESTERN EUROPE

BRIEFS

ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH FINLAND--Helsinki, 6 Apr (TASS)--A Soviet-Finnish symposium opened in the Finlandia Hall in Helsinki today to discuss the further development of trade and economic relations between the two countries. Speakers at the two-day meeting, sponsored by the Finnish businessmen's newspaper KAUPPALEHTI and the Soviet weekly EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA (Economic Gazette) are expressing themselves in favor of a search for new forms of economic links and still closer relations of goodneighborliness, business cooperation and trust between the two countries. [Text] [Moscow TASS in English 1310 GMT 6 Apr 87 LD] /9738

BUSINESS COOPERATION WITH NETHERLANDS--Moscow, 8 Apr (TASS)--The main spheres of the development of business cooperation between the business circles of the Netherlands and the Soviet Union have been outlined in a cooperation program for 1987-1988 signed here today by the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the Center for Promoting Trade of the Netherlands and the "Netherlands-USSR" Institute. The sides will promote the organization of trips to the USSR of delegations of Dutch businessmen for discussing cooperation prospects, specifically, in the agri-industrial sphere, in the electronic industry, machine-building, biotechnology and environmental protection, as well as of visits to the Netherlands of delegations of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Trade, the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry and other Soviet foreign trade organizations. The document outlines measures for assisting Soviet organizations and Dutch firms in resolving problems connected with operations in each other's markets and participation in exhibitions held by both countries. The sides agreed to examine the problem of holding a Soviet national exhibition in Amsterdam in 1990. [Text] [Moscow TASS in English 1452 GMT 8 Apr 87 LD] /9738

SOVIET-BRITISH BUSINESS COOPERATION--Moscow, 9 Apr (TASS)--The Soviet Foreign Trade Association "Sojuzkhimexport" and the British Firm "Courtaulds" signed their first contract in the building of the British-Soviet Chamber of Commerce today. The Moscow office of the British-Soviet Chamber of Commerce was opened on 31 March in the presence of the Prime Minister of Britain Margaret Thatcher. Under the contract, the USSR will ship two thousand tons of nitrile-acrylic acid, a major raw material in chemical fiber production, to Britain. "Courtaulds" has been purchasing this acid in the USSR for some five years

now, David Clark, sales manager of the firm, told TASS. "Courtaulds" supplies finished products partially to the Soviet Union. Cooperation with Soviet partners is not limited to this. Several days ago, "Courtaulds" received a Soviet order for a partial re-tooling of an enterprise in Saratov, the Russian Federation, which produces, among others, nitrile-acrylic acid, the British businessman said. [Text] [Moscow TASS in English 1524 GMT 9 Apr 87 LD] /9738

FRENCH ENERGY CONSERVATION COOPERATION--Moscow, 13 Apr (TASS)--Prospects for cooperation in questions of energy conservation and rational uses are discussed at a meeting of representatives of the USSR and France that opened here today. The participants in the meeting will discuss directions and forms of cooperation between Soviet organizations and French firms in such areas as the use of geothermal energy, the use of energy saving technologies in transport, industry and agroindustrial complex. [Text] [Moscow TASS in English 1806 GMT 13 Apr 87 LD] /9738

FRG CHEMICAL INDUSTRY COOPERATION--On 13 April V.K. Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received representatives of West German business circles W. Hilger, chairman of the board of the Hoechst Company, and L. Jaeshke, chairman of the board of the Uhde Company. Questions of cooperation in the chemical industry were discussed. [TASS report under the "Official Reports" rubric] [Text] [Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Apr 87 Morning Edition p 4 PM] /9738

BUSINESS COOPERATION WITH FRANCE--Moscow, 17 Apr (TASS)--The development of new technologies which ensure conservation and rational use of energy is one of the promising areas of cooperation of specialists of the USSR and France. This was noted by participants in a five-day meeting of representatives of scientists and the business circles of the two countries, which ended here today. During the discussion the sides considered the possibilities of cooperation in such areas as the extraction, transportation and storage of gas, the use of energy saving technologies in transport, in industry and in the agro-industrial complex, atomic power. The meeting was held on the initiative of the Franco-Soviet Chamber of Commerce, the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, the USSR Ministry of Electric Power Development and Electrification, as well as the French Agency for Rational Utilization of Energy. [Text] [Moscow TASS in English 1750 GMT 17 Apr 87 LD] /9738

ECONOMIC TALKS WITH LUXEMBOURG--Moscow, 12 Apr (TASS)--The state of and prospects for the development of commercial and economic relations between Luxembourg and the USSR were discussed here today during the talks between First USSR Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade Vladislav Malkevich and Luxembourg's Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs Jacques Poos. Business ties between Soviet organizations and Luxembourg firms do not yet correspond to potentialities of the partners, Jacques Poos said in a TASS interview. He also noted that during the meetings the sides had declared in favor of the quest of the ways to expand commercial and economic cooperation in various areas. He was of the opinion that metallurgy was one of the promising areas for

expanding business ties. The sides also discussed prospects of the development of relations in the financial area, in the sphere of air services. The possibility of concluding an agreement on flights of the Luxembourg Airlines on Luxembourg-Tokyo route with the flight over the USSR territory is, specifically, considered now, Jacques Poos said. [Text] [Moscow TASS in English 1802 GMT 21 Apr 87 LD] /9738

CSO: 1825/164

CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

PRC DAILY CITED ON MARXISM, ECONOMIC, POLITICAL REFORM

LD231635 Moscow TASS in English 1559 GMT 23 Mar 87

[Text] Beijing March 23 TASS--GUANGMING RIBAO newspaper published an article on certain problems of practical implementation of the fundamental principles of Marxist science in conditions of reforms conducted in China.

The article notes that the reforms implemented in the PRC mean the quest for the ways of socialist modernisation combined with characteristic features of China's realities on the basis of fundamental principles of Marxism. Naturally, it is only Marxism that can be the guiding principle of such a reform. "In order to ensure a sound development of the reforms we should discard erroneous opinions and views contradicting Marxism," the article says.

Invigoration of the economic activity is the main content of the reform of the economic system, the newspaper writes. There can be a multitude of ways and methods to achieve this but none of them can contradict the fundamental principle of public property and the principle of distribution according to one's work. "It is only by basing ourselves in full measure on these vital principles and provisions of Marxism that we can really guarantee the advance of the economic reform along the socialist road," the article says.

As to the reform of the political structure, its essence is the need to transform and upgrade the party and state leadership, to further expand socialist democracy, to invigorate socialist legality on the basis of upholding the guidance by the party and democratic dictatorship of the people. In order to achieve concrete aims during the reform of the political structure it is necessary to step up the activity of government bodies so that they could better perform their functions. There is a need to eliminate bureaucratism and to enhance the efficiency of work, make the management more democratic, stimulate socialist activity of the masses.

Various ideological trends intensify in conditions of transformations. New phenomena constantly appear. The ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization might spread in the process of the reform. There are many people who vigorously support the reform, who are in its vanguard. At the same time there are those who torpedo the reform, who take the road contradicting law out of the striving for gain, the newspaper writes.

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CSO: 1812/166

CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

BRIEFS

NEW AMBASSADOR TO INDONESIA--Vladimir Semyonov, a Russian, was born on August 17, 1928, in the town of Petrovsk, Saratov Region. In 1951 he graduated from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations under the U.S.S.R. Foreign Ministry. He has been a Communist Party member since 1953. After graduation he was enlisted as a member of the Foreign Ministry staff. From 1954 to 1959 he held successively the posts of attache and third secretary at the Soviet embassy in Britain. In 1959-62 he returned to work with the Ministry in Moscow. In 1962-68 he was first secretary and then counsellor at the Soviet embassy in Canada. After that, till 1972, he again worked at the Foreign Ministry in Moscow. From 1972 to 1978 he was counsellor and then counsellor-envoy at the U.S.S.R. embassy in Britain. In 1979-84 he held the post of deputy head of the Foreign Ministry's second European department, and in 1984-87 he was Soviet ambassador to Singapore. Vladimir Semyonov is the holder of government decorations. [Text] [Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 15, 20 Apr 87 p 27] /9317

CSO: 1812/163

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

TENSION IN SOUTH ASIA BLAMED ON PAKISTAN, U.S.-BACKED ZIA REGIME

Tashkent OБSHCHESTVENNYYE NAUKI V UZBEKISTANE in Russian No 10, Oct 86 pp 30-38

[Article by S.I. Tansykbayeva: "Pakistan's Role in U.S. Global Strategy in South Asia"]

[Text] The year 1986, proclaimed Year of Peace by the UN, was significant for a number of sweeping and multifaceted initiatives put forth by the Soviet Union and aimed at ensuring peace and security over the entire planet. They constitute an all-embracing program of international security which calls for the total elimination of nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction before the end of our century. It was set forth and validated in decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, in the 15 January 1986 Statement of M.S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and in subsequent speeches by him, and also at the meeting with U.S. President R. Reagan at Reykjavik.

The Soviet Union's new, broad peace initiative defined in M.S. Gorbachev's speech at Vladivostok on 28 July 1986 was a component of the Soviet concept of an all-embracing system of international security. It contains specific proposals for regional adjustment [of the situation] in Southeast Asia; for preventing the spread of nuclear weapons in Asia and the Pacific Ocean; for reducing military fleets in the Pacific Ocean; for reducing armed forces and conventional weapons in Asia; for moving onto a practical plane the discussions on measures of trust and nonemployment of force in that region.

These and other constructive proposals of the Soviet Government are extremely important to the nations of South Asia, where the situation is unstable and where old hot spots of tensions and conflicts are spreading and new ones arising. That region includes, of course, the Republic of India, the People's Republic of Bangladesh, the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, two island republics (Sri Lanka and the Maldives), and two Himalayan Kingdoms (Nepal and Bhutan). In all, around a billion people, one-fifth of the earth's entire population, live there. (Footnote 1) ("UNESCO Statistical Digest: A Statistical Summary of Data on Education, Science and Technology, Culture and Communication, by Country," Paris, 1985, pp 178, 182, 196, 223, 226, 230) The nations of that region have enormous natural wealth and human resources, and are located in a strategically important area of the globe.

The peoples of the region, who set out on a path of independent development after the war, have for decades engaged in a difficult struggle to strengthen their independence and to overcome the profound economic backwardness and

poverty inherited from their colonial past. In order to accomplish these vitally important tasks, the peoples of South Asia are vitally interested in preserving peace and stability in the region.

The neocolonial policy of the forces of imperialism, primarily American, has been and remains the main source of tensions and destabilization of the situation in the region, which is hindering improvement of the political situation and the resolution of fundamental problems of socioeconomic and cultural development of the states in South Asia.

American imperialism is doing everything it can to undermine the national sovereignty of states in the region, to consolidate their economic backwardness and strengthen its own positions in all areas of their life. It is using all the means in its arsenal--political, ideological, economic and military--for this purpose.

Recently the American administration has been relying more and more on methods of international terrorism for implementing the doctrine of "neoglobalism." American imperialism is attempting to use this doctrine to get revenge for all the defeats of old and new colonizers, to thrust back and suppress the national liberation movement in the liberated states, including those of South Asia. The doctrine of neoglobalism essentially consists in exporting counterrevolution by means of state terrorism, for which crises and conflicts, the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress stressed, provide fertile soil. "Undeclared war, the export of all forms of counterrevolution, political assassinations, hostage-taking, the hijacking of aircraft, explosions on streets, at airports and in stations--this is the abominable face of terrorism...." (Footnote 2) ("Materialy XXVII sъезда Коммунистической партии Советского Союза" [Materials of the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union], Moscow, 1986, p 70)

The main role in the implementation of U.S. strategic plans in South Asia is assigned to Pakistan, which, according to Washington's designs, following the fall of the Shah's Regime in Iran, was not only to take over the functions of policemen protecting American imperialism's interests in the region, but also to assume the role of strong point in the imperial strategy of establishing military-political supremacy on a vast territory from the Persian Gulf to Southeast Asia.

American imperialism employs the most diverse means for achieving these goals, from granting Pakistan economic and military assistance and exploiting territorial and border disputes with neighboring states--Afghanistan and India--to intimidation with the mythical "threat" from the Soviet Union.

So-called aid constitutes the main means of implementing American imperialism's designs. Since Zia-ul-Haq's regime came to power, Pakistan has become one of the largest recipients of American military assistance in Asia: it received 3.2 billion dollars between 1982 and 1986, and another 4.2 billion dollars will be provided, beginning in 1987. (Footnote 3) (PRAVDA, 5 March 1986; NEW AGE, 2 February 1986; ZA RUBEZHOM, No 31, 1986, p 5) Speaking of the consequences of the deal between Zia-ul-Haq's regime and American imperialism,

the Communist Party of Pakistan stresses that "this will make the already extremely tense situation in our region even more explosive." (Footnote 4) (PRAVDA, 5 March 1986)

Shipments of American weapons included F-16 fighter-bombers capable of carrying nuclear weapons, Hawkeye reconnaissance aircraft, Orion anti-submarine aircraft, combat ships, Harpoon, Sidewinder and Stinger missiles, Cobra helicopters, tanks, antiaircraft weapons, and other modern weapons systems. The bulk of this military equipment is offensive and not defensive.

The intensive militarization of Pakistan being carried out by the USA is resulting in the outfitting of the Pakistani army with the latest American weapons and combat equipment, and the enlargement of the nation's naval forces. The numerical strength of Pakistan's armed forces has now reached 500,000 men.

In exchange for selling weapons, Washington has acquired extensive possibilities for military preparations in Pakistan. The Pentagon has a ramified network of bases in Pakistan. Berths have been built for ships of the American Navy in Karachi, Jiwani and Ormara. Runways and barracks, weapons depots and missile-launchers are being built in various parts of the nation--at Peshawar, Gwadar, Sargodha, Kohat and Bahawalpur.

The scale of the preparations attests to Washington's desire to make it possible to get the interventionist Rapid Deployment Force through Pakistani territory to the borders of the oil-producing nations and be able to move troops to the Persian Gulf from the Pentagon base on the island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean.

Washington is encouraging Pakistan's nuclear ambitions. Regarding Pakistan as an important staging area in the region, the U.S. provided Islamabad with a nuclear reactor as early as the '50s, and trained more than 100 Pakistani nuclear physicists in the USA. At the end of the '70s Pakistani authorities purchased the equipment and technology it needed in dummy companies in the USA and Western Europe.

Building up Pakistan's military capability, the U.S. has turned it into a huge military staging area in the Indian Ocean zone, into a strongpoint for two kinds of aggression: overt aggression against Democratic Afghanistan and covert aggression against the Republic of India.

U.S. preparations for armed intervention in Afghanistan's internal affairs and the involvement of Pakistan in it began soon after the April revolution in Afghanistan. For this purpose, from 1978 down to the present time, bases and weapons dumps have been built inside Pakistan along the entire border with Afghanistan, as well as around 120 camps for training saboteurs and terrorists to be sent into Afghanistan, all with direct U.S. participation. (Footnote 5) ("Undeclared War: Armed Intervention and Other Forms of Interference in the Internal Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan," Kabul, 1984)

American, Pakistani and other military experts and instructors make anti-aircraft gunners, demolition experts, radio operators and so forth, out of the common bandits at these camps, train them for 3 to 6 months. They teach the dushman (bandits) how to blow up bridges, schools and hospitals, how to deal with the teachers and doctors, and how to sow terror and destruction. They teach them how to kill women, children and old people in the villages, dressed as Soviet soldiers, in order to discredit the internationalist assistance provided the friendly Afghan people by the limited contingent of Soviet forces.

The large-scale preparation of bands of Afghan counterrevolutionaries and their provision with modern weapons and military equipment, including ground-to-ground missiles, antitank missiles, mortars, large-caliber machine guns, and so forth, are done with funds provided by the imperialist states, primarily the USA. The amount given the Afghan counterrevolutionaries secretly or openly exceeded 1.5 billion dollars between 1980 and 1985. According to the newspaper WASHINGTON POST it amounts to around 80 percent of all the funds spent by the CIA on "secret operations." Turned into bullets and missiles, poison and mines, these dollars bring death and destruction to the Afghans. (Footnote 6) (PRAVDA, 29 January 1986; KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, 1 October 1985) This is how the doctrine of neoglobalism is actually implemented.

The dushman actions are coordinated and their subversive activities against Democratic Afghanistan are directed at a joint headquarters with participation by Pakistani military experts. This staff includes leaders of counterrevolutionary groups entrenched in Pakistan.

Six counterrevolutionary groups are the most active: G. Hekmatiar's Islamic Party, which is closely linked to the Muslim Brothers, a reactionary organization; B. Rabbani's Islamic Society of Afghanistan; A. Cilyani's National Front of Islamic Revolution; S. Mujaddadi's National Liberation Front; M. Nabi's Revolutionary Islamic Movement of Afghanistan; and S. Halis' Group, a splinter group of the Islamic Party.

The political orientations of these groups varies from religious to monarchical. Their ringleaders are closely linked to the U.S. CIA and intelligence services of other imperialist powers.

Psychological warfare is a component of the undeclared war against Afghanistan. It is conducted by means of hostile radio broadcasts, leaflets, and dozens of periodicals. In addition, the scale of the acts of ideological diversion has been enlarged considerably by enlisting Afghan counterrevolutionaries themselves.

The radio stations Voice of Afghanistan's Islamic Revolution, United Muslim Mujahedin of Afghanistan, and True Voice of Afghanistan's Muslims have been set up in Pakistan, for example. The stations broadcast during the best air time, in the morning and evening, and the broadcasts are of an unbridled, inflammatory nature. Appealing to religious and nationalistic sentiments and taking advantage of the population's illiteracy and backwardness, and the tenacity of feudal-clan prejudices, the creators of the radio broadcasts

grossly distort the situation in Afghanistan and do everything possible to defame the activities of the revolutionary authorities and the policy of the Soviet Union.

"Culture and dissemination" sections have been set up at the headquarters of the counterrevolutionary groups. An "Afghan information center" has begun operating in Peshawar. Various Afghan counterrevolutionary groups publish more than 70 newspapers, magazines and weeklies in Pakistan and abroad, most of which are printed in the Pashto and Dari languages.

In order to enlarge the scope of the oral propaganda, special training centers have been set up in Pakistan and Iran to train propagandists from among the active and literate members of the bands. Dushman agitators disseminate posters, inflammatory slogans and appeals, and cassettes, in which innocent Eastern songs and music precede rabid anti-Soviet sermons by the counterrevolutionary ringleaders, and quotations from speeches made by Western politicians at Afghan refugee camps with promises of generous assistance for the jihad (sacred war against the infidels). The content and the spirit of the posters, leaflets, newspapers, magazines, books, and radio programs are fairly standard: exposure of the "atrocities" committed by the people's authorities, anti-Soviet slander, and propaganda about the jihad and the "heroism" of the dushman.

The Pakistani authorities have recently gone from supporting the Afghan counterrevolutionaries to direct participation in the armed raids on the DRA. This is attested by the regular placement of Pakistani agents and reconnaissance-and-diversionary groups from Pakistan's army units and border forces into the DRA.

Despite repeated Afghan protests, according to the information agency Bahtar, the shelling of Afghan communities and border outposts by regular Pakistani Army subunits has increased, as have not just violations of the DRA's air space by planes and helicopters of Pakistan's Air Force, but also bombing strikes against Afghan populated areas. Increased tensions on the border between these two countries is the result of such acts of aggression.

Despite the escalation of the undeclared war against the DRA, however, and despite the enormous damage done to the nation's economy by this war, the forces of imperialism and their henchman have not succeeded in undermining the people's power brought into being by the April revolution.

DRA Prime Minister S.A. Keshtmand has stressed the fact that the revolutionary development in the nation, "overcoming the difficulties caused by the undeclared war, is gaining force and speed. The workers and all of the nation's citizens are united round the PDPA [People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan] and the government. The Afghan society's consolidation is becoming the determining factor in our reality, and there should no longer be any doubts in anyone's mind that the republic's ideals will be realized." (Footnote 7) (IZVESTIYA, 13 March 1986)

Territorial and border conflicts in the region have special importance in imperialism's neocolonial policy. The complex and confused questions inherited from colonialism about the borders between Pakistan and India and

between Afghanistan and Pakistan are a constant source of tensions and instability, and one of the causes of acute conflicts in the region, which reach the point of military clashes. Important crises were caused in Afghan-Pakistani relations by the Pashtun problem in 1955-57 and 1961-63, which led to a break in diplomatic relations and to armed conflicts. Although diplomatic relations were restored in 1963, no agreement has been reached on the Pashtunistan question. Pakistan has unleashed large-scale combat operations against India three times (in 1948, 1965 and 1971).

The policy of imperialism, mainly American, is hampering the settlement of disputes between states of the region.

Pakistan's concentration of the Pakistani army's main forces, outfitted with American weapons, on its border with India is exacerbating relations with India. Recently, Pakistani forces have been attempting with increasing frequency to encroach upon the territory of the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir, and to capture strategically important areas in the region of Siachen Glacier and Ladakh.

Particular danger is posed to India's unity and territorial integrity, however, by the diversionary activities of the Punjab extremists, who advocate separating the state of Punjab from India and turning it into a puppet state (gosudarstvo) of Khalistan. The Punjab separatists have organized campaigns of bloody terror in recent years to achieve this purpose, creating crises not just within the state, but also on a national scale.

Pakistan's territory serves as a base for the separatists' acts of diversion, where more than ten camps operate. They are mainly along the border with India and provide special training for 6,000 Punjab saboteurs. (Footnote 8) (PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, No 10, 1985, p 57)

Pakistani authorities do everything possible to conceal these camps, to hide them from outsiders. One of them, the so-called "military mountain institute," is located at Haji Pir, in a part of the Indian state of Jamu and Kashmir occupied by Pakistan; the others are in the cities of Faisalabad, Abbottabad, Sahiwal, Narowal, Mianchanu and Hasan Abdal.

The extremists lack neither funds nor weapons. All of this comes from abroad. They undergo military training in Pakistan, while their money comes from the West. Headquarters of the leading groups of Punjab separatists are located in the USA, England and Canada.

After completing the training and receiving weapons, as well as ideological and political instructions, the saboteurs stick on false beards and put on turbans, and, disguised as Sikhs, pass from Pakistan into India. They sometimes cross the border directly into Punjab, sometimes pass through more remote and unaccessible areas in Rajasthan and Gujarat.

In addition to arranging political assassinations, arson and explosions in the subversive activities of the separatists, special stress is placed on enflaming differences between religious communities. With the support of

outside forces, conflicts are provoked not just between Hindus and Sikhs in Punjab, but also between Muslims and Hindus in the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

By placing the stress on inflaming differences between communities, which destabilizes the situation in India, imperialism is attempting to undermine the international positions of the largest developing nation, leader of the non-aligned movement.

The intrigues of the imperialist forces are meeting with a determined rebuff not only from the Indian authorities, however, but from the population itself. Ordinary Sikhs, with the support of millions of Indians, protest against the actions of the separatists and terrorists.

The militaristic, openly expansionist strategy of the USA, its support for the antipopular regime of Zia-ul-Haq, and the subversive activities and intervention in the internal affairs of the states of South Asia are causing concern in India, Afghanistan and other states of the region, who view the attempts by American imperialism to enhance Pakistan's strategic military role in South Asia as a threat to their national security.

The policy of actively militarizing Pakistan and turning it into a staging area for subversive actions against neighboring states is contrary to the national interests of Pakistan itself.

"The people of Pakistan are increasingly aware," the Pakistani Communists stress, "that the reactionary, adventuristic foreign and domestic policy of Zia-ul-Haq's regime threatens our nation's very existence." (Footnote 9) (PRAVDA, 5 March 1986)

Not satisfied with the sops of billions [of dollars] from the USA, the Zia-ul-Haq regime spends the lion's share of the nation's budget on militarization. Pakistan's military outlays have grown 4-fold during the past 9 years. Almost 40 billion rupees will be allocated for these purposes out of the state budget for fiscal year 1986/87. (Footnote 10) (Ibid., 23 July)

It is not surprising that the nation's foreign debt has almost doubled in the past 8 years, exceeding 12 billion dollars at the beginning of 1985. It is expected to reach 16-17 billion dollars within the next 2-3 years. (Footnote 11) (V. Belokrenitskiy and I. Zhmuyda, "Pakistan: Economic and Political Conflicts," in Aziya I Afrika Segodnya, No 8, 1986, p 32) Pakistan is experiencing serious economic difficulties because of this, which place a heavy burden on the people.

The economic situation in the nation is characterized by inflation and rising prices for essential goods. Thousands of Pakistanis have been forced onto the street because of the chronic unemployment. Per capita income in Pakistan is one of the lowest in the world, whereas per capita military outlays have doubled in the past 8 years.

The dictatorial regime has deprived the workers of all democratic rights, and the people live permanently in a situation of cruel repression and persecution.

Social tensions in the nation are greatly exacerbated by the strengthened positions of the ringleaders of counterrevolutionary groups, former Afghan feudal lords, in various sectors of Pakistan's economy: the construction industry, trade, transportation and others. Many Pakistanis have lost their jobs as a result. The military regime has also strained relations among the nationalities to the utmost degree. The dushman entrenched in Pakistan terrorize the local population, engage in smuggling, drug-trafficking, and so forth.

All of this is have a deleterious effect upon the lives of broad segments of the workers, increasing their dissatisfaction with the unpopular regime held in power only by military force and U.S. support. Dissatisfaction on the part of the most diverse segments of the population with the antipopular foreign and domestic policy of a regime under the thumb of American imperialism is also growing and spreading in the nation.

This is convincingly demonstrated by the popular disturbances which enveloped Pakistan in 1983/84 and 1986. The massive anti-government and anti-American demonstrations were led by an alliance of opposition political and social organizations in the nation--the Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD)--which proclaimed as its main goal the establishment of a civilian government based on the provisions of the 1973 Constitution, the lifting of martial law, restoration of liberties, and protection of the autonomous rights of the provinces. (Footnote 12) (For a more detailed account, read NEW AGE, 28 August 1983; FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW, 27 September 1983; LINK, 25 September 1983; KABUL NEW TIMES, 24 August, 14 September 1983; Malik Arshad, "Pakistanis Are Human Too: A Study of Human Rights Trampled Under Military Boots," New Delhi, 1985)

The lifting of martial law and the establishment of a formally civilian government in 1985 was a direct result of the many months of campaigns of civil disobedience against the antipopular policy of Zia-ul-Haq's military dictatorship, which swept over the nation in 1983-84. Real power in the nation is held by the army headed by Commander-in-Chief Zia-ul-Haq, however, who also holds the office of "President of Pakistan. (Footnote 13) (For a more detailed account, read V. Nikolayev and D. Borisov, "Pakistan: Repainting the Facade," in AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 10, 1985)

Pakistan's continuing militarization in accordance with Washington's strategy of neoglobalism is the main obstacle to the restoration of democracy in the nation.

Despite the cruel repression and persecution (the government moved the police and troops in to suppress disturbances, and in the confrontations dozens of people were killed, hundreds wounded, and thousands arrested), broad segments of the population are not halting their protests against Zia-ul-Haq's antipopular militaristic course.

The year 1986 was marked by a new outbreak of popular dissatisfaction. Large anti-government demonstrations took place in Lahore, Rawalpindi, and other large cities in the nation. Millions of participants demanded the immediate

resignation of President Zia-ul-Haq, democratic elections, the guarantee of civil rights and liberties, the breaking of militaristic ties between America and Pakistan, and the release of political prisoners. The USA's gross and brazen interference in the internal affairs of Pakistan and other liberated nations evokes angry indignation in the people. Hundreds of large demonstrations have been held in various cities in the nation against American imperialism's policy in the Near East, in South and Southeast Asia, and against the Zia-ul-Haq regime's support of that policy. (Footnote 14) (For a more detailed account, read PRAVDA, IZVESTA, July-August 1986)

The restoration of peace and stability in the region is directly linked to the demands of Pakistan's Pashtun tribes for the elimination from their land of camps for training formations of Afghan counterrevolutionaries, weapons and ammunition depots for conducting the undeclared war against democratic Afghanistan.

The support of the Pashtun tribes for the April revolution in Afghanistan and their refusal to allow dushman bands and caravans of weapons through their territory have become a major obstacle to the escalation of the undeclared war against the DRA. In response to attempts by the Pashtuns to defend their independent status and prevent the expansion and reinforcement of the military aggression against Afghanistan, the Zia-ul-Haq regime, at Washington's bidding, has launched a real war against the Pashtun Afrid and Shinwar tribes, which inhabit the Khyber Pass region (Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province). Regular military units--tens of thousands of soldiers and officers, hundreds of tanks, artillery, helicopters and other combat equipment--have been sent to the Khyber region. The Pakistani authorities are aided by bands of Afghan counterrevolutionaries entrenched in Pakistan.

The punitive operations against the Pashtun tribes has turned into real genocide, into a war of annihilation: thousands of absolutely innocent people have been killed, including women, children and old people, and hundreds of homes have been destroyed. (Footnote 15) (NEW AGE, 2 February 1986) The Pashtun tribes are steadfastly resisting the Pakistani punishers, however.

The Pashtun tribes--Anmedzai, Wazir, Momand, Mamund, Salarzai, Masud and others--as well as the Baluchi tribes, have come out in support of the just struggle. Jirgas (councils) expressing solidarity with the struggle of the Afrids and Shinwars have swept in a wave through the entire zone of the tribes. Participants in the jirgas condemned the aggressive actions of the Pakistani authorities and demanded that they halt their interference in the affairs of the Pashtuns, remove their troops from the Khyber Pass region and other locations, stop sending Afghan counterrevolutionary bands into the DRA through the territory inhabited by the tribes, and shut down the centers where the Afghan dushman are trained. (Footnote 16) (Ibid.)

The large-scale operations conducted by Pakistani troops against the Pashtun tribes have evoked profound indignation in the Pakistani public. Meetings and protest demonstrations involving many thousands of people were held in many cities in Pakistan against the policy of Islamabad, which unleashed the aggression against the Pashtun tribes. The participants in those mass demonstrations

demanded that the aggression in the region where the Pashtun tribes live be halted immediately, that intervention in Afghanistan's internal affairs be ended, and that the bands of counterrevolutionary rabble be removed from the territory of Pakistan.

Pakistan's democratic forces have always advocated Islamabad's recognition of the government of democratic Afghanistan and the conduct of direct talks with it. These demands have become even more vociferous of late. A considerable number of labor unions also express their solidarity with the people of Afghanistan and their revolution.

The Pakistan People's Party, the National Democratic Party and other opposition political parties and organizations openly condemn the interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and demand immediate recognition of the DRA's government and direct talks with Kabul. (Footnote 17) (ZA RUBEZHOM, No 18, 1986, p 11)

Events occurring today in the nations of South Asia demonstrate that the policy of American imperialism, based on neoglobalism, is encountering a determined rebuff not only in nations of the region which are pursuing a course of non-alignment, but also in Pakistan itself. In mass anti-imperialist and anti-military movements, the broad public of nations in the region demands that imperialist exploitation be ended, that the Indian Ocean be turned into a peace zone, that the arms race be halted, and that peace be firmly established on earth.

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MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

ECONOMIC TOLL OF WAR ON IRAN REITERATED

NC241031 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1500 GM 23 Mar 87

[Igor Sheftunov commentary]

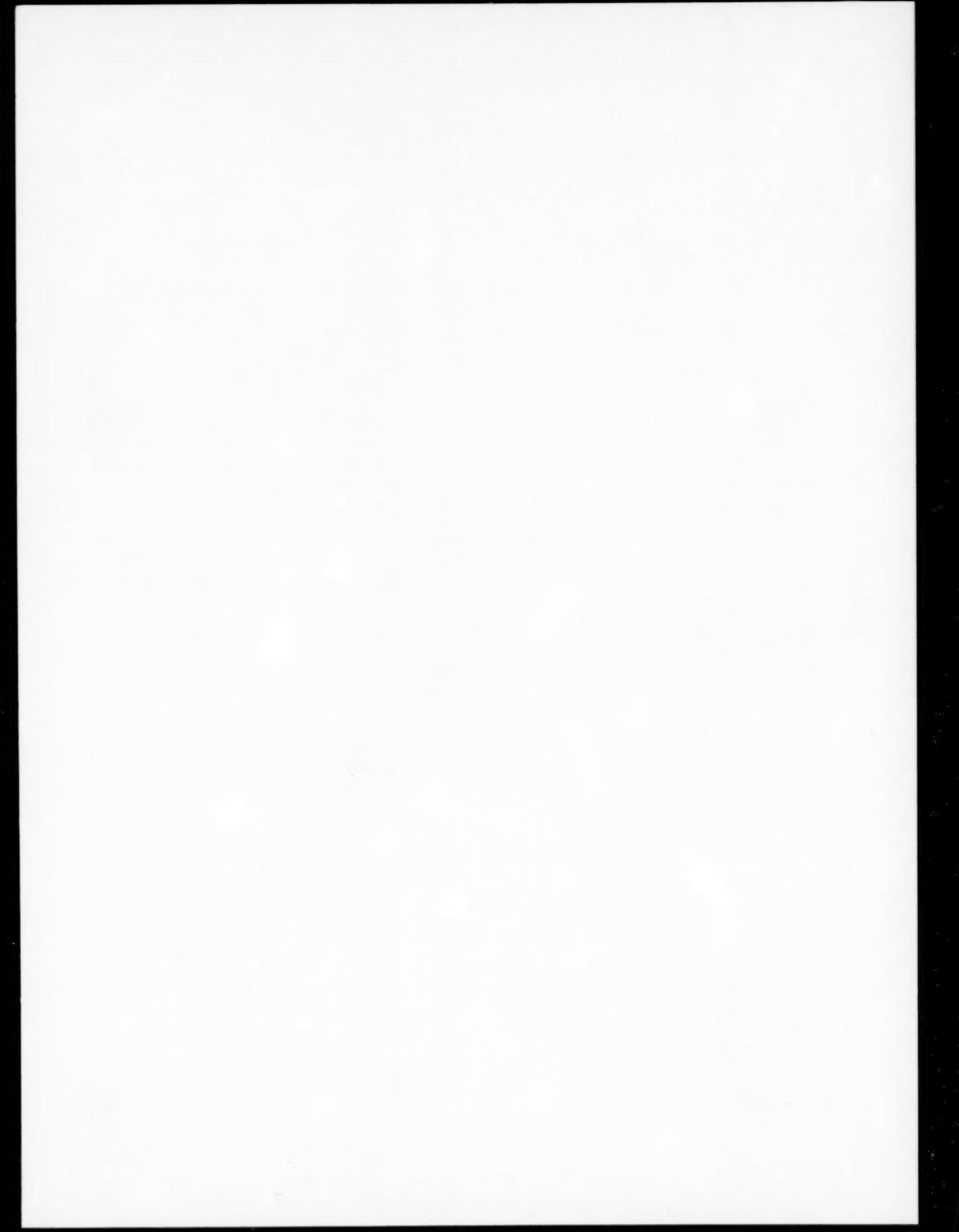
[Text] This is the 7th year that the Iranian budget has been feeling the burden of the uninterrupted Iran-Iraq war on its shoulders. This war has been guzzling down one-third of the government's total expenditures, and in the current fiscal year, military spending will increase by \$3.6 billion. This reflects more or less, the income that will accrue to the Western monopolies that are taking advantage of the Iran-Iraq war by selling arms to Iran at more than three to four times the actual price. According to THE WASHINGTON POST, (?Israeli) companies sold arms worth \$250 million to Iran, amassing enormous profits in the bargain.

Iran is facing increasingly greater difficulties in trying to muster the necessary funds for its military needs. According to the current budget, these funds can be obtained by selling Iran's oil at \$16 a barrel. However, such estimates are not realistic, since, as the U.S. magazine (CURRENT HISTORY) states, the Western monopolies have not been able to achieve more than \$14 a barrel. Therefore, it would be a remote and unrealistic possibility to expect that Iranian oil can be exported at the rate of 1.5 million barrels a day in the current year. The past year's exports fell below this target on two occasions because of the continued war between Iran and Iraq.

The Iran-Iraq war will undoubtedly continue to exert such negative effects on Iran's economy. It has been proposed that part of Iran's current budget be met by raising the level of taxes on meat products, corn, and other consumer goods. As the FRG magazine DER SPIEGEL states: The higher echelons in Iran are showing a versatile inventive ability to impose new and increased taxes. This state of affairs will obviously result in a price spiral. In fact, according to official reports, the price index of retail sales in Iran has risen more than twice since the beginning of the war. As a result, the Iranian workers have had to bear the brunt more than ever. The current Iranian budget clearly indicates that, in the face of the heavy burden on the shoulders of the country's toiling masses, an end to the Iran-Iraq war is an urgent need.

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